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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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CONGRESSIONAL

DEMOCRATIC IMPOTENCE ILLUSTRATED BY TILLMAN.

The impotence of the Democratic party, or, to be more precise, of that for which the Democratic party stands, was brilliantly illustrated in the course of the week in Congress. In the House, Representative Gillespie of Texas had, the week before, caught the Republicans napping, and obtained a favorable vote to a resolution inquiring from the President on the subject of the relations of the Pennsylvania Railroad with other lines. Discussion was impossible under the circumstances. Tillman came to the rescue in the Senate. On the 12th instant he introduced a similar resolution and spoke upon it extensively. If a good cause can be improved by brilliant oratory, brilliant oratory can only help to expose the badness or hollowness of a worthless cause. That is just what Tillman did for the cause of the Democracy.

The purport of the Tillman resolution and its gist was to bring out the fact that railroads combine in such ways that they hold the population in subjection, and that, furthermore and especially, by acting as common carriers of merchandise, such as coal, produced by themselves and also by non-railroad operators, they crushed out the latter, and controlled output and prices as they pleased. In the course of his speech Tillman spoke of "the process by which one railroad continues to swallow another until we have only got about five great systems out of 200,000 miles in the country" and that these five great systems "are run by the identical individuals." He specified that "the entire country south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi is dominated wholly by three railway corporations who have absorbed and combined or bought up and united with all the others; and all three are controlled by the Pennsylvania and its brother in iniquity, the New York Central." After indulging in a combination of Jeremiah wails and Isaiah denunciations at such "outrages against the people," the Senator took up another and kindred thread of the subject. He showed how the conduct of the Executive in posing and having his press bureau proclaim him as "utterly unmovable in his determination to emancipate the people from the grinding exactions and outrages being perpetrated upon them by the railroads," is but an opera bouffe. In mastery he ripped up the false pretense of the suit against the Northwestern merger, which had been pronounced a deed of noble heroism in behalf of the people, as a bit of jugglery. He de-

scribed Elihu Root of the President's cabinet and the junior Senator of New Jersey, Knox, as railway men who were the concoctors of the present railroad rate bill, and proved the bill to be "the most stupendous farce" that he had ever heard of. Finally he read from the financial columns of daily papers the advertisements of banking concerns which went to show how "utterly indifferent" these leading capitalists had grown to all threats of governmental control. The advertisements proved that these big capitalists "have such saving faith for the innocuous character of the thundering from the White House" that they boldly advertise the fact that there is a merger between vast railroad systems.

And thus the Senator proceeded in a way to display the utter impotence of whatever his party represents. Of course the facts he mentioned were true; of course there is merger and consolidation of capitalist concerns steadily going on; of course the Executive's bluster is idle bombast, indulged in to deceive the masses; of course the capitalist concerns are all well aware of all this and are "utterly indifferent." All this notwithstanding, the posture of the man and the party that cries out against such a development and would check it (1)—check it, mind you, not end it—is that of a dog barking at the moon. Concentration is the law of economic evolution. It is a desirable evolution. Without it wealth never could be produced in quantities ample enough and with an amount of labor small enough to afford affluence to all, and the leisure to enjoy the affluence. To oppose concentration as Tillman does is the acme of Bourgeoisism. On the other hand, concentration in private hands does evil. It not only fails to produce the abundance that is possible, but it enslaves the people, and brings on the official and other fakirisms that Tillman graphically described. The posture of intelligence is that of the Socialist Labor Party which urges the Working Class, just because concentration is valuable, to hasten to redeem it from the private hands that now use it as a scourge upon the people.

The solution is not in the Democratic cards; in the Republican cards is the theory of "Standing Pat" that is, holding the fort against the Democratic Reactionists until the Working Class, enlightened by Socialism, are ready to knock capitalism down, take over the Nation's concentrated plants of production, and administer them for the whole people.

THE SEIDENBERG SPECTRE

GROWS LUMINOUS WITH TIME.

An event there took place in this city, just about eight years ago, that marks a leading epoch in the history of the American Labor Movement. With that event an old page was turned down, a new page turned up. The event is in the nature of a beacon, whose light, thitherto held dark, suddenly, the blinds being shattered, flashed out into the surrounding gloom, and illumined what long had been obscure. The event is known to careful students of the Movement as the "Seidenberg Specter". As time proceeds, the luminous, and at once avenging, Specter grows in luster. An unguarded article in the "Volkzeitung" of the 10th instant, purporting to deal with the Question of Unionism, and, of course, hostile to the I. W. W., furnishes an exceptionally welcome opportunity to review the occurrence, and thereby derive the fulness of the instruction that it conveys.

In the course of the article referred to the "Volkzeitung" says:

"The S. T. & L. A. took at strikes the places of striking workmen belonging to the hostile organization, as, for instance, in the Seidenberg affair, where it even engaged itself with the bosses to furnish them scabs."

The Seidenberg affair created at the time a considerable stir. The craft Union traffickers in strikes and pets of the Volkzeitung Corporation were stirred as they never had been stirred before. They rushed to that paper with their wails and versions. These were greedily received and published. The paper's editors at the time ran over with such

"correspondence". Surely, if the S. T. & L. A. "took the places of strikers at Seidenberg," mention of the fact could not, at the time have escaped these righteously indignant craft Unionists and Volkzeitung pets. Aye, had they been—besides the knaves that they are—long-headed enough to foresee that the specter which they conjured up was not one that could be easily laid, they surely would not have been above inventing that he also, and charging the S. T. & L. A. with having "taken the places of strikers at Seidenberg". Their ignorance of the Movement being, however, of a piece with their knavery, they considered the aspirations after bona fide Unionism to be buried. Thus it never occurred to them to invent the further lie of "taking strikers' places". Accordingly, no such charge was made by them, at that time, in the "Volkzeitung" or elsewhere; nor can the "Volkzeitung" produce, as it is hereby challenged to produce, a single line from their plentiful correspondence in its own columns that bears out the concrete charge it now makes that S. T. & L. A. men "took the places of strikers at Seidenberg". If the issue were merely to convict the "Volkzeitung" of labor fakir mendacity out of its own mouth, we would rest here. But the issue of the Seidenberg Specter is of vastly greater import.

The facts in the case were these: The Pioneer Cigarmakers Union (S. T. & L. A., No. 141) was organized at No. 98 avenue C, in this city, on February 10, 1899. The meeting was an open one. The organization took place amid the loud denunciations of "Scab" uttered by Messrs. Morris Braun, Rudolf Mod-

est, David Heimerdinger and about ten other approved henchmen of Gompersism, who vainly did their level best to break up the meeting. The new body consisted wholly of unorganized men, several of whom worked at the Seidenberg factory. They promptly carried an agitation on the floor on which they worked, which also consisted wholly of unorganized men, and soon had almost the whole floor within the pale of the organization. The floor below was occupied by the Gompers Union of cigarmakers. The Pioneer Union men were indulging in visions of co-operation from and approval by the older Union in the former's so far, successful labors of bringing the unorganized workers into the organization, when one fine morning, a few weeks later, March 14, on their way to work, they suddenly ran up against the Gompers Union pickets who informed them "the shop is on strike". Astonished thereat though the "Pioneers" were, having had no intimation on the subject, they, notwithstanding they had not been consulted, offered to co-operate with the Gompers Union the moment they found that, with the exception of their own floor, the rest of the factory was on strike "against a reduction in wages", as they were informed—and, TO A MAN, THEY STAYED OUT OF THE SHOP. Their offer of co-operation was spurned; they were called "scabs"; a "settlement" with the employer was speedily made by the Gompers authorities; as two members of the Gompers Union subsequently informed the public over their own signatures, the "settlement" left them just where they were before the strike, if not worse off; but the "settlement" provided that THE "PIONEER" CIGARMAKERS WERE TO BE LOCKED OUT. In other words, the strike was not against the employer, it was against the S. T. & L. A. for what?—FOR HAVING ORGANIZED THE UNORGANIZED. For this "crime" they were called "scabs". And the "crime" was held to be so harmful to Gompers Unionism, that the latter was willing to pay, and did pay, the employer with a "settlement" injurious to the wages and conditions of its own men, in consideration of his throwing out the Alliance men.

Great was the jubilation in the camp of craft Unionism. "The Pioneers are crushed!" ran the slogan. If the "Pioneers were crushed" they were "crushed" only in the sense that the workmen of Russia were "crushed" on the "Bloody Sunday" of January 22, 1905. As on the latter date the event rent the veil that had previously mystified the Russian proletariat concerning the nature of their "Little Father", so on the former date there was rent in America the veil that had long concealed a fact not dreamed of before, at least never before understood.

The Labor Movement of America came out of the Seidenberg affair with its wisdom-tooth cut. The language held by the craft Union officers on the subject of the unorganized was and is intended to convey the idea that the craft Union men would have the unorganized in its fold, but that these, owing to some spirit of perversity, refuse to join and stay out. Fresh upon the memory of all must be the statement of President Perkins of the Gompers cigarmakers union, impudently advanced over his own signature in a letter to the Miners' Magazine of last October 19, that it is false that his Union refuses to organize the stogie workers. Perkins stated explicitly that his Union "is now and always has been ready, willing and anxious to organize the stogie makers of this country and affiliate them with the Cigar Makers' International Union". Fresh upon the memories of all must be the letter of J. L. Frank, the Secretary of the United Stogie and Cigar Makers' League, L. A. 1374, K. of L. of Pittsburg, Pa., which appeared in the same Miners' Magazine of the following November 9, answering and refuting Perkins, and convicting him with facts, acts and figures of deliberate mendacity. Finally and upon the same subject, fresh upon the minds of all must be the letter of Trautmann in the Miners' Magazine of December 7, where, quoting from the constitution of Perkins' own Union, Trautmann showed that the conditions demanded by Perkins' Union for the admission of stogie makers were SUCH AS TO MAKE STOGIE-MAKING IMPOSSIBLE. The Perkins claim was demolished; the claimant pilloried.

The unorganized are not unorganized because they will not organize; they are unorganized because CRAFT UNIONISM REFUSES TO ORGANIZE THEM. By means of a score of devious devices—high initiation fees, high dues, trumped-up fines, excessive assessments, ap-

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MILWAUKEE S. L. P.

PUTS TICKET IN FIELD FOR SPRING MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

Vierthaler Nominated for Mayor—Enthusiasm and Determination Prevail—Movement Growing in Strength, While Local "Social Democracy" degenerates into an Office-Seeking Herd.

(Special Correspondence.)

Milwaukee, Feb. 11.—Section. Milwaukee, Socialist Labor Party, nominated the following candidates for the coming municipal election, which will take place on the first Tuesday in April: Mayor, John Vierthaler. Treasurer, Henry Boll. Comptroller, Gustav Starke.

Our candidates have for years been identified with the Socialist Labor Party and are as true to the tactics and principles of our party as the party itself.

There was much enthusiasm displayed and great interest taken at the convention at which our candidates were put up. In meeting on Friday evening, February 9, the determined faces of those present, even the layman in physiognomy was not left in uncertainty as to their having thrown themselves body and soul in the only just, right and modern labor movement—they are with us and that says much.

Section Milwaukee proposes to put up a fight which will eclipse all former demonstrations held heretofore. Mass meetings will be arranged, leaflets and thousands of our party organs will be scattered over the city.

It will be seen that the S. L. P. in the Cream City has not lost any of the old fighting spirit; on the contrary, we have gained considerable in membership; and, as the Social Democracy here degenerates into what the old outspoken capitalist political factions are—a much promising and office-seeking herd of hungry politicians—it naturally follows that many a man becomes disgusted with the Social Democracy because they see now that the word Social Democracy is a misnomer, a farce. Social Democracy signifies something entirely different from what Berger and Co. want to make the people believe it does.

Many times we were told by some enthusiastic Social Democrat that "the Socialist Labor Party does not amount to much, etc." Now something happened here the other day which once more shows that there is as much hot-air in the Milwaukee Social Democracy as the party is making noise.

We mean the folk-mote of January 22, the Red Sunday celebration. Here as nowhere else could be measured the real strength of a Labor Party, of a Socialist Party. It is only by comparison that we can see the difference which exists between things, parties or persons. Such a comparison between the revolutionary spirit in the two parties has, as said before, taken place at the two demonstrations in honor of the fallen victims of Czarism in the streets of St. Petersburg. The Social Democracy, which, at the last election, polled something like 18,000 votes, had fewer than a hundred persons at the Red Sunday meeting; while the Socialist Labor Party could point with pride to a crowd of at least one hundred and fifty people; the evening on which the Social Democrats held their protest meeting was fine as to the weather; we, however, held our meeting notwithstanding the snow storm that was raging and even marched to the hall carrying the banner of the S. L. P. unfurled to the wind,

sleet and snow; the Social Democrats collected sixteen dollars, while we, the "insignificant" S. L. P., had the honor to send to our comrades in Russia \$24.00, which was the amount of the collection.

The above must convince any sensible man that when it comes to the point, when it comes to the real question of which party is the stronger, considered from a Socialist standpoint, then the honor belongs to the S. L. P. It is not our fault that even those votes that were gained in an honest way, by straight Socialist propaganda were counted out. We are making progress as has been proved at the meeting in favor of our Russian brethren.

Senator La Follette has departed for Washington, as "the noble champion of reform." "Wisconsin" is there also represented by a certain Spooner. The first named Senator was elected Governor by that faction of the Republican party which "harassed" the trusts and corporations; the latter has always been a servant to the trusts, to the mighty and powerful. Thus, they originally represented two distinct types. But, no sooner was the "reformer" La Follette in Washington, than he shook hands with Spooner. Such conduct on the part of professional politicians is not strange to us, nothing else could be expected of them, they are in politics to advance capitalist interests, primarily their own. The time has already come (but yet clearer and more plentiful will be the facts), that likewise the Social Democracy will have to perform the same disgusting sort of things. All signs point that way. The Social Democrats of Milwaukee have put up Arnold for Mayor. At the last election he ran for Governor, and shortly after the election was appointed by one of the judges to be a member of the school board. Arnold is the very same man who, at the last election, openly said that in case there were no Social Democrats taking part in the election, he would vote for La Follette, the very man who is one day a "champion of reform," and the next day forgot where he stood the previous day.

H. B.

MAINE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Endorses New Jersey Unity Conference and Calls on National Organization to Pave Way for National Unity.

Skowhegan, Me., Feb. 16.—The enclosed resolution was passed unanimously by the Socialist party of Maine, in their State convention at Augusta yesterday.

Yours for the Revolution,
W. G. Haggood.

(Enclosure.)

Resolved, That the Socialist party of Maine in convention assembled, recognizing the necessity for working class unity and solidarity, do hereby endorse and commend the action of our New Jersey comrades in initiating the move for unity with the Socialist Labor Party, and we hereby recommend that our national organization take such steps as will pave the way for a thorough Unification of the revolutionary Socialist forces upon such basis as will aid and strengthen the army of the proletarian revolution.

UNITY IN GLOVERSVILLE.

Gloversville, N. Y., Feb. 16.—We have started a unity conference here and I believe it will result in good.

Albert Buchler, Secretary.

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UNITY CONFERENCE

TAKES ACTION ON PARTY PRESS—DECIDES AGAINST PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Conference Between the Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey, Sunday, February, 1906.

Officers of the Conference in their places.

Roll call.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

Essex County—James, Killingbeck, De Yonge.

Hudson County—Headley, Kielm, Reilly.

Passaic County—Glanz, Gregory, Hueck.

Union County—Caasens, Walker, De Mott.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Essex County—Mattick, Rapp, Quinlan.

Hudson County—Eck, Hossack, Koettgen.

Passaic County—Frueh, Romary, Schmitter.

Union County—B. Burgolz, Fallath, McGarry.

Minutes of the previous meeting, January 21, read, adopted, and by unanimous vote ordered sent to the Socialist press for publication.

Party Press, the next topic on the order of business, then came up for discussion.

Eck, S. L. P.—Offered the following as a guide to discussion.

THE PRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

Section I.

No. 1. Private ownership of such a press.

No. 2. That which constitutes private ownership.

No. 3. The possible control of such a press by the bona fide working class movement, i. e., the Socialist movement.

Section II.

No. 1. Party ownership of the Press.

No. 2. That which constitutes Party ownership.

No. 3. The possibility of the control of such a press by the bona fide working class movement, i. e., the Socialist movement.

That this plan of discussion be adopted was seconded by Killingbeck, S. P.

Reilly, S. P.—I don't see the necessity for dissecting this question so minutely. It was all right to go into detail in the matter of tactics with regard to economic organization, on that topic we had three sub-divisions while here we have more. Socialists of both parties favor the ownership and control of the press of the movement by the Party. We understand what we mean when we say Party ownership, and I am in favor of declaring for absolute ownership and control of the press by the Party. Of course discussion is needed, but we don't need to go into it in a way that will prolong our work unnecessarily. We know well enough that what the Party doesn't own it can't control.

Glanz, S. P.—I am opposed to discussion on these lines on the same ground as Comrade Reilly. We Socialists are now pretty well grounded on the fact that the party ought to own and control its press. Unless you want to discuss it this way for propaganda, we should get right down to business.

Schmitter, S. L. P.—It may not appear on the face of it that such a close discussion is necessary, but with the past in mind there is certainly a lesson for us to learn. This question was the real cause of the split, and I think a thorough discussion is necessary so that in future no such split can take place again.

MOYER AND HAYWOOD ARRESTED.

Western Federation of Miners' Gallant Officers Seized on Baseless Charge.

Denver, Feb. 18.—Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners, and William D. Haywood, Secretary, were arrested last night on a charge of complicity in the murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg of Idaho. The arrest was made at the request of the Idaho authorities, and the two men were railroaded off to that State.

Moyer and Haywood have been marked men since their great prominence in the Colorado mine strike in 1903.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

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Eck, S. L. P.—Comrade Reilly says it will prolong the discussion. If there be no other reason I should still stand for it, and just for the reason that we want to get at the bottom of the matter. The S. P. men, too, I think, take the same position—in favor of a thorough and systematic discussion.

Headley, S. P. (Chairman)—The words party press mean so little and yet mean so much. We have papers that claim to be the party press, yet are not. If the only question was as to what do we favor, five minutes would settle it. The S. P. of New Jersey have declared in favor of a party press. We should discuss methods of ownership, and handling, and instead of lumping it all together I think we should take it up as suggested by Comrade Eck.

James, S. P.—Comrade Headley has expressed my view. If it takes six weeks let us thrash it out thoroughly. There is no use in cutting off the discussion, because some think that favoring a party owned press settles the question. We want to know just what we are voting for.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I seconded Comrade Eck's plan because sometimes the longer way round is the quickest way home. I think we can arrive at a decision quicker by systematic discussion than if we wander all over the field.

Eck's plan was adopted by a vote of twenty-two for, two against.

Killingbeck, S. P.—This question of Party Press, to some of the older party members, is more, far more difficult to decide, than it is to new members. On both sides we have had experience with party owned press. I first joined the S. D. P., and under the Party constitution every member got the "Social Democratic Herald" free. We thought we had a Party owned press, yet the result was disastrous to the Party. In a year's time we found that the press owned us. The editor, or a bunch of editors, through reaching the Party each week practically controlled the S. D. P., and what doctrines they choose to promulgate the majority swore to as gospel according to Marx, Engels, etc. Well, that Party owned press, as I said, proved far more disastrous than the present form of individual owned papers.

To-day a Berger may promulgate his views in the "Herald," but we have an antidote in Mailly's Toledo "Socialist." (A voice: What is the antidote to Mailly?) If you can't swallow Berger, why, resort to Mailly (general laughter.) Imagine what it would mean to-day, if the S. D. "Herald" was a Party owned paper, with Berger as editor, and that paper was going to every member of the Party! The result would be that we would be following in the footsteps of Hearst, Colby & Co., for that is where Berger is going to-day.

I want to refer to the so-called party owned press of the S. L. P. side. I know from personal contact with good Socialists that they are frequently misled by the Party owned press of the S. L. P. They accept what De Leon says as gospel truth—that things in The People are absolute gospel. We know, and the S. L. P. knows, that there have been communications put in The People that were not really the truth, they were exaggerated or distorted, but because the paper represents the S. L. P., whatever appeared in the paper is taken with the authority of gospel truth, and there is the danger of a party owned press. Let us have a press in which every member has the right to have his individual opinion published in full. It may be impracticable to do that, I am not newspaper man enough to say.

Reilly, S. P.—What De Leon chooses to publish or not to publish matters not here. One thing is sure his Socialism

(Continued on page 3.)

READY FOR DELIVERY

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF RATIFICATION MEETING HELD AT CHICAGO JULY 7, 1905.

THIS BOOK IS A VALUABLE RECORD OF A GREAT HISTORIC EVENT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
2-6 NEW READE ST., N. Y.

Socialism in Eastern Canada

(Written for The People.)

The three eastern or maritime provinces of Canada had in 1901 a population of nearly 900,000, distributed as follows: New Brunswick, 331,000; Nova Scotia, 450,000; and Prince Edward Island, 103,000. The areas are 28,000, 20,000 and 2,000 square miles, respectively.

Prince Edward Island's industry is almost wholly agricultural and fishing. It has no Socialist organization of any kind and, so far as the writer knows, never had.

The people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia live mainly by farming, lumbering, fishing and mining, most of the fishing and the bulk of the mining being carried on in Nova Scotia. In both provinces manufacturers are in their infancy.

New Brunswick industries being, as a rule, conducted on a small scale, there has till very lately been little or no union organization outside the chief city of St. John, except among the railway and telegraph workers, who are generally organized in affiliation with the A. F. of L.

Last November, the St. John 'Longshoremen's' Association notified the steamship companies that after the nineteenth of that month they would have to pay the union members thirty-five cents per hour for all work instead of forty for loading wheat and thirty for all others, as before. Work being so uncertain, that laborers' weekly wages are quite low; but the companies refused to increase the rate, and imported workmen from Montreal to take the strikers' places. So many came, or offered to come, from Montreal, that the strikers gave in and returned to work on the old terms on the 20th. The strike breakers got only a fortnight's wages for their willingness to help the capitalists enforce their terms on St. John.

In December last, the St. John branch of the Typographical Union demanded an eight-hour day, which the newspaper offices granted. The management of one, however, dismissed the secretary of the union on the ground of having

too many employees. The union claimed that he was dismissed because of his official position, and that if any man had to go, it should have been the one last hired. So they struck. But the writing staff, engineers, etc., remained at work, the paper was issued, and the strikers returned to work—all but the man originally dismissed. To emphasize their victory, the management promoted the one last hired to the foremanship.

These two incidents go to show the need of the I. W. W. here. Had all men in any way connected with the shipping business struck in aid of the 'Longshoremen,' or held themselves ready to strike if needed, the laborers would have won. So with the printers. Nothing but a union of the unions—a union that takes in all workers of an industry—can hope to win; and then only when the workers of all other industries stand ready to help. And even such a union would be of no permanent benefit until it VOTED as a unit for the Co-operative Commonwealth. Many St. John men are now thinking seriously along the lines of industrial unionism; and an organizer would find lots of material there.

The chief industrial centre of the Maritime provinces is the coal mining regions of Nova Scotia. There are about 12,000 coal miners in that province, about half of whom are employed by the Dominion Coal Company, who own the collieries of the Glace Bay district. Last fall this company secured a three years' contract with its men, who are members of the Provincial Workmen's Association (the miners' union), under a schedule which keeps the earnings of a large percentage of the men below \$1.50 a day.

The first Socialist organization in the eastern part of Canada was an S. L. P. section founded by A. M. Muirhead in Halifax in March, 1899. It developed considerably activity, and for a while maintained a lecturer and published a paper. But, like the United States movement, it unfortunately split over the S. T. & L. A. question, and finally broke up.

Some six or seven years ago, Fred.

Lighter, a Jewish member of the S. L. P., settled in Glace Bay, and has ever since sowed the seeds of Socialism by a plentiful distribution of the right kind of literature. In 1900, D. N. Brodie, an ex-member of Halifax S. L. P., also settled there. Alex. Mackinnon, Alex. and Hugh MacMullin and others who had learned Socialism in the West, took up the propaganda. Shortly before the Dominion election of 1904, the more discontented of the miners of the Glace Bay district formed an Independent Labor Party, which, although speaking of "a minimum wage," came out for "public ownership and operation of mines, railways, telegraphs, telephones, lighting, water works, and all producing or distributing undertakings and utilities, which, from their nature, tend to become monopolies." The candidate, Stephen B. MacNeil, was at first endorsed, but soon opposed, by the Roman Catholic authorities. He polled 869 votes on election day, November 4th.

At the close of this campaign, the Glace Bay Socialists, who had given MacNeil a hearty, though entirely independent support, cut loose from the I. L. P. and organized a Socialist Club on November 22, 1904. Alex. MacKinnon is organizer and good propaganda work is being done. It has not yet affiliated with either the S. P. or S. L. P. F. Lighter remains a member of the S. L. P. In 1905, another club was organized at Sydney Mines, John Taylor, secretary. Both these clubs strongly favor the I. W. W.

On November 24, 1904, appeared the first issue of the "Provincial Workman," owned by W. J. Douglass, the capitalist proprietor of the Glace Bay "Daily Gazette," who had supported MacNeil's candidacy for Parliament. The "Workman" was designed to be the P. W. A. organ, and P. F. Lawson, who had been prominent in the I. L. P., was chosen editor. Lawson opposed Moffatt in signing away the miners' rights for three years, introduced Socialism into the paper, and brought C. O. Sherman, president of the I. W. W., to address the P. W. A. convention in Halifax,

September, 1905. For these dire offenses against pure and simpleminded Lawson was crowded out. On October 31, 1905, he resigned the editorship, and on November 7 joined the Glace Bay Socialist Club. He is now engaged in the I. W. W. interests in the United States.

Up to ten years ago, very little Socialist literature had ever found its way into New Brunswick. Socialism was mentioned only to be ridiculed and condemned. Socialist propaganda was dangerous. The writer had the honor of being dismissed from his position in 1899 because of circulating the Weekly People, placing Socialist books in the Sunday School library, and talking Socialism in public places. Since the great increase in the German Socialist vote in 1903 and in that of the United States in 1904, our newspapers have been compelled to notice the movement, and the public has, with increasing knowledge, grown a little more tolerant of the propaganda.

The first essay at Socialist organization in New Brunswick was of the Fabian variety. W. Frank Hatheray, a wholesale merchant and something of a writer along economic lines, organized the St. John Fabian League in May, 1901. Its avowed object was: "The study of all questions arising between capital and labor, the free discussion of economic problems,—such as old age pensions, living wage legislation, civic ownership of public utilities, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and the propagation of all ideas that tend to lighten the toil, promote the welfare and elevate the social and moral conditions of the people." Its platform is certainly socialistic, but scarcely Socialist.

The Fabian League advocated Socialism of the one step-at-a-time kind, and was soon captured by the pure-and-simple union elements. On February 28, 1903, Hatheray stood for election to provincial parliament as a fusion candidate on Conservative and Labor platforms. He was, of course, defeated. The League demanded an Employers' Liability Act. The government prom-

ised one next year, and in 1904 introduced an act which, among many other things too numerous to mention, provided that no child under sixteen years of age should be employed in a factory, UNLESS HE WAS STRONG AND HEALTHY AND HIS WORK WAS NECESSARY TO SUPPLY HIS PARENTS' NEEDS. Even this bill was not pushed. A commission of five, of whom THREE WERE EMPLOYERS OF LABOR, was appointed to draft a factory act; and one, perfectly harmless from the employers' standpoint, was passed in 1905. Several months ago the Fabian League adjourned its meetings indefinitely and has not met since.

Frederickton Socialist League (since April 1, Frederickton Local No. 1 of New Brunswick, Socialist party of Canada) was organized on July 28, 1902, and is the only Socialist local or section in New Brunswick. For nearly four years it has been an active factor in distributing Socialist literature, and in each year finding the soil of the province more receptive and encouraging. Martin Butler, recording secretary of the local, publishes "Butler's Journal," a monthly, which has been propagating revolutionary Socialism for several years.

Socialism in New Brunswick has progressed to the point of calling out the active hostility of the Roman Catholic Church. Francois M. Daigle lectured against Socialism in Moncton, March 19, 1905; and on January 21, 1906, Bishop Casey in St. John thundered against it from his pulpit, declaring that "the workman cannot obtain the necessities of life, much less its comforts, without the wages paid him by the employer," etc., etc.

Socialism in New Brunswick and the United States has come to stay; and the door for the new unionism is wide open. Factional spirit is weak here, and Socialists of both shades of thought are longing for the day—surely not now far distant—when the S. P. and the S. L. P. will be marching together to the early conquest of the public powers.

Henry Harvey Stuart.
Harcourt, N. B., February 6, 1906.

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Modern Industrial Slaughter

The number of fatal accidents in the steel plants of the Pittsburgh district has grown to an appalling figure. In the last seven years the Coroner of Allegheny County held inquests in 875 accidents in the mills. At least one-half of these so-called accidents are the result of carelessness or neglect on the part of employers to provide proper safeguards for their employees. As a result of this the matter has been brought to the attention of Captain J. C. Delaney, State Factory Inspector of Pennsylvania, and an investigation is now under way.

Human life has come to be held cheap as dirt in Allegheny County. The explosion of a furnace which burns a man to death, the falling of a crane which crushes two or three laborers out of all semblance to human beings, the breaking of a cable or the fall of an ingot which hurries workmen into eternity is an every-day occurrence. It is dismissed with a half dozen lines, rarely more than a dozen, sandwiched into the newspapers along with the railroad cases, suicides, murders, drownings and other events which go to make up the daily record of the Coroner's office.

Occasionally there is an item of more than ordinary importance. On September 29, 1899, Furnace C. of the Edgar Thomson Department of the Carnegie Steel Company, the backbone of the United States Steel Corporation, exploded, and Captain William R. Jones, general manager of the works and Andrew Carnegie's right hand man and lifelong friend, was burned to death under a shower of molten iron ore, limestone rock and burning coke. Several laborers were killed at the same time. That made an important item. But only the day before Captain Jones was killed the same furnace broke out and a laborer was killed. Nothing was known of that accident until the more important one occurred next day, when the coincidence was noted.

A week later another laborer was burned to death in the same way at the same furnace. His death was barely chronicled. The Coroner's verdict in each of these cases winds up with the stereotyped phrase, "And the Coroner's jury finds the accident was unforeseen, as all possible precaution had been taken to keep said furnace in good repair."

On December 19, 1901, eleven men were roasted to death as the result of an explosion at one of the blast furnaces of the Jones & Laughlin Company. The same formal verdict was rendered in this case. December 20, the day following the Jones & Laughlin disaster, three men were burned to death by an explo-

sion in the Black Diamond Steel Works, one of the steel corporation mills. The next day, December 21, five men were scalded to death by an explosion in the Singer, Nimick & Co. mills, another corporation plant. A few days before the Jones & Laughlin accident three men were killed by an explosion at the American Steel and Wire Works, another corporation mill.

No big accidents, involving the loss of more than two men at a time, occurred after that until March 31, 1903, when Furnace C, at the Edgar Thomson plant, broke loose again and added eight more to the list of fatalities. Since that date accidents have been frequent enough but claimed only one or two victims at a time. Of course, these received little attention, and it is only now, when the State authorities have decided to make an investigation, that the public has become concerned or given the matter a second thought.

Here is the record for 1905, showing the number of men killed in Pittsburgh mills every month during the year: January, 14; February, 13; March, 6; April, 15; May, 10; June, 11; July, 10; August, 16; September, 12; October, 11; November, 16; December, 20.

Now these are only the cases in which the Coroner held inquests. It does not include several dozens of victims of heat prostration. Dozens of other accidents which take life occur in and about the mills to mill workers, but they are not scheduled as mill accidents. Dozens of men die of injuries received in the mills, but their deaths are not reported to the Coroner. These men are injured in the mills, taken to their homes or boarding houses, linger there for weeks, perhaps for months, in agony, die and are hurried to their graves with no official inquiry into the manner of their taking off.

Mysterious disappearances in the steel mills are common. Two cases of this kind have resulted in official inquests, although in neither case was there any corpse to view. In one case Coroner McDowell held an inquest on the hat of the victim. In the other instance Coroner McGeary, who succeeded McDowell, decided an inquest was unnecessary. Not even a chemical analysis would have discovered a trace of either of these victims.

Such accidents are comparatively common. They happen sometimes in this way: Trouble had been experienced for week in the blast furnaces of one of the big corporations. One of the furnaces was old and worn out. There was a tre-

mendous demand for material. To take it out of blast, let it cool, tear out the lining, reline it and put it back in blast would have taken six weeks, working night and day. This would mean a loss in production of 300 to 300 tons of metal every twenty-four hours. It was deemed better, therefore, to keep it going and run chances that nothing would happen until a dull season came on.

When a furnace gets in this condition it occasions much trouble. The molten iron sticks to the sides of the furnace, and forms what is called in blast furnace parlance a "hang". This is a thick crust adhering to the sides of the furnace. It prevents the metal being drawn off. When the molten metal is let out from under it there is danger of it slipping, which means a terrific explosion. When a "hang" forms laborers have to go to the top of the furnace and work it loose. Occasionally it slips and the explosion follows. Every man on top of the furnace is burned seriously, perhaps fatally.

In the case at the National Tube Works one man disappeared from among his companions when the explosion came. They were all blinded by the rush of flame, molten iron, limestone and coke, which shot up through the mouth of the furnace like a discharge from a cannon. None of them saw their fellow-workers go. Nothing more was heard of him. If he screamed his voice was lost in the roar of the explosion.

After some days the Coroner decided that he had fallen into the furnace, and an inquest was an impossibility, as nothing was left of his effects. In the other case in which an inquest was held on the hat, the accident happened in a precisely similar manner.

Every once in a while a man disappears about the steel mills or blast furnaces, but there is no evidence. No person saw him go. It is simply a case of disappearance. His fellow-workers know he has gone into the furnace, but they are always foreigners, and do not worry over a little thing like that. There are probably a dozen such disappearances in the Pittsburgh mills.

The victims are almost without exception foreigners. The Slavish races are capable of performing an immense amount of the heaviest manual labor and are willing to do it for \$1.25 or \$1.50 a day. This figure prevails only in boom times, like the present. They have worked for 90 cents and \$1. When there is a hang in one of the furnaces it is these unposted men who go to the top to work it loose. The English workman,

knowing the danger, invariably refuse.

Furnace accidents are only a small proportion of the disasters which take the lives of millworkers in Pittsburgh. The electric crane is one of the most deadly instruments about the steel mills. It claims a victim, either for death or the hospital, every day or two. The average crane-man, who is the motor-man of a crane, has but little regard for a person.

Recently a man was sent aloft to do some work about the roof trusses of a crane shed in a Pittsburgh mill. He lost his hold and fell in such a way that he became jammed in a doubled up position, with one leg over the track on which runs the big crane. His position was such a peculiar one that there was no way to release the victim except to take the crane apart or crush his leg.

When it became evident that there was no other way to get him out the foreman ordered the laborers out of the way. To take the crane out of the way meant several hours' work and the stoppage of the plant. The foreman gave the signal to the crane-man, the big crane rolled forward, there was a scream of agony as the wheels rolled over the victim's leg. He was taken out minus one limb, but the mill had saved several hundred dollars.

The citizens of Pittsburgh have become indifferent to death. It is only occasionally, when some great catastrophe happens, when men are killed by the score, that the hearts of the people are touched. When the Harwick Mine disaster occurred three years ago, and more than a hundred men were killed in an instant, the people of Pittsburgh were quick to respond. But it must be some great catastrophe like that to attract attention.

It is stated that Andrew Carnegie keeps very close tab on the mills which bear his name. All newspaper accounts of accidents in the mills are said to be furnished him by a press clipping bureau, and he raises trouble if they get too frequent. Perhaps it was this which caused him, after the Carnegie Company was merged with the steel corporation, to establish a fund of \$5,000,000, the income of which is to provide relief for men injured in the mills bearing his name, and a pension for the widows and orphans of those killed. Aside from this Carnegie inadequate relief fund, there is no relief extended to the injured, other than an occasional collection taken up among their fellow workmen.

The boarding house a foreigner is compelled to take shelter in is a pitiful

sight. In a room fourteen feet square will be four beds, one in each corner. They are used double turn. Frequently bunks are built against the wall, which doubles the capacity of a room. The men who work in daylight sleep at night, and those who are in the night shift in daylight. There are always two men to a bed, sometimes three. The rooms are never cleaned, and the bed clothing never changed. It wears out in a few months with the usage it gets, and new clothing replaces the old. There are no sheets of pillows. Just a mattress and quilt. Fresh air is a stranger.

Pottsville is one of the sink holes of Allegheny County. It is impossible to describe this squalid village, as it really is within the high board fence which surrounds the Homestead Steel Works of the Carnegie Company. It was built during the great Homestead strike of 1892. When the military authorities took possession of that town, after the riot of July 6 of that year, the company found it necessary to build a barracks to house the strike-breakers who were brought in. More than a hundred houses were erected in the mill yard, inside the tight board fence which had been erected to shut out the strikers.

These houses were simply shanties, built of rough hemlock lumber, boarded up and down. They had no chimneys, as it was warm weather and the men all took their meals in the big dining room which was built for that purpose. After the strike had been shot to pieces and the mills were running in good shape, terra cotta pipes were put in these shanties for chimneys, strips were nailed over the cracks between the boards on the outside and the inside walls were covered with felt paper. Tar paper roofs were put on all of them. They were then rented to the foreigners at \$15 and \$20 a month. Since the fall of 1892 these shanties have been bringing in a revenue at that rate every month. Not one of them cost more than \$100 to build.

This is Pottsville, so named by the strikers in honor of Mr. Potter, who was manager of the Homestead mills at the time of the strike. It is the home of hundreds of foreigners who work in the mills. Hundreds more live outside, for room cannot be provided for all in the mill yard. Every one of these three or four roomed shanties is a boarding house. In addition to the father, mother and the half dozen children, each family keeps from three to six or eight boarders. It is a mystery where they find room for all of them.

The Industrial Worker

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It must be remembered that these shanties are built on the cinder bank, inside the mill yard, where not even weeds will grow. They are jammed up against the big converters, with their roar, glare and heat. How many foreigners are carried out of the mills and into these shanties every day nobody knows and no person cares. It is none of the public's business, and the public cannot look over a ten-foot fence.

There are more cripples in Allegheny County than in any other territory of equal size in the world. Men with legs or arms off are common, while no person pays any attention to a fellow with a few fingers gone. It is said one establishment, where 5000 or 6000 men and girls are employed, takes 100 fingers off every month. This may be a slight exaggeration, but one would not think so after a trip around Wilmerding, East Pittsburgh or Trafford City.

The mills are crippling or mangling about 3,000 men every year in Allegheny County. This includes those who only lose a finger or so. There are possibly as many more who receive minor injuries which heal quickly and leave nothing more than a scar.

The statement has been made that the Carnegie mills are killing and maiming 6,000 a year.

The Coroner's record for 1905 shows that inquests were held on the bodies of 156 mill workers who had been killed while at work. But there are many inquests held on bodies which might be credited to the mills and are not. The Coroner, in his report issued January 1, says that 68 per cent of fatal scaldings might be classed as mill accidents, but

for several reasons they are included under burns and scalds. Then there are the men killed in the mill yards by shifting engines and the dinky trains which haul the hot metal about the mills. An accident of this nature occurs every day or two, but they are classed as railroad cases. Workmen are run down in the mill yards going to and from their work or going about their work in the mill yards. Were all these scheduled as mill accidents, where they properly belong, the death list for the Allegheny County mills would run nearer 500 than the figure of last year.

Captain Delaney contends that the number of fatal accidents in Pittsburgh mills is growing less every year, and the figures for 1905 show a decided decrease. The records of the Coroner's office do not bear out this statement. In 1901 the Coroner held inquests on 103 mill victims. In 1902 the number jumped to 144. The year 1903 was the banner year, with 158. The following year the figures dropped to 137, but last year went up almost to the high record, with 156.

For the last seven or eight years the figures show a most alarming increase, and this despite the fact that improved machinery displaced many men who were formerly employed at what were considered the most dangerous jobs. The fact is that mill owners have grown inhumanly careless. Men are plentiful and the demand is too great to waste any time looking after the interests of employees when so many more may be lost as this may sound, it is really the secret of the whole thing.

UNITY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1.)

is true and I think The People has represented the S. L. P. I don't believe that The People controls the S. L. P. I believe the Party controls the paper and that is just what we want. The dangers that have been talked about appear trivial. When I talk for the Party, I am, so to speak, owed by the Party. If what I say is not in harmony with the party they take me off the stump. We had a case where that was done in Hudson County. Now, if it is advisable that the Party should control my utterances on the stump, where my influence is of a much less degree than that of an editor, who reaches a greater number of people and much oftener, is it not much more important that he also should be under absolute party control? I believe that the S. L. P. has control of The People, but from time to time I have heard stories, of which I know not the truth, but they are to this effect: The Daily People plant is leased to a private concern and the publication of the paper is a mere incident; that De Leon, so goes the story, has everything so arranged in his own hands that he can hold the paper and his job of editor in spite of anything that the party might do. I have heard a lot more to the same effect, and I should like to know from the S. L. P. comrades just how The People is party owned; who holds the title; what remedy has a party member who thinks he has been unjustly suppressed, to whom can he go? I recollect that a while ago there was a suit for libel brought against the S. L. P. as the owner of The People and a verdict was given against the party. If De Leon, as is said, owns the paper, how does he fix it that the party owns the paper?

Comrade Daily argues from party ownership are largely imaginary. Under party ownership Berger couldn't pursue his present course—you cannot imagine him being editor under such circumstances, he simply wouldn't be the editor. As it is now he can practically do just as he pleases.

Eck, S. L. P.—The two previous speakers have wandered from the subject somewhat. Now, I don't think there is a man in this Conference, or one in this hall, who is in favor of a privately owned Socialist press and it would seem that discussion on that is ended. I would therefore move the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Conference places itself on record as being opposed to all privately owned papers espousing the cause of labor, i. e., the Socialist cause. Seconded by Remary, S. L. P.

Hosack, S. L. P.—Before this motion is put I would call attention to the fact that Comrade Reilly has asked some very pertinent questions as to The People, and I think if it is not declared out of order, that those questions should be answered.

Point of order raised and sustained by the Chair.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I want to put one matter correctly. The Chairman stated that we in New Jersey had decided against a privately owned press; true, but we could not decide that no one had a right to publish a Socialist paper, which is a different thing.

Headley, S. P. (Chairman)—That goes without saying. If I favor one thing, that I must be against its opposite. If I favor party ownership of the press, then I am against any individual of the party publishing a Socialist paper.

Kiehn, S. P.—I want to know if all this discussion is really necessary? I fail to see why it is. How to own and control the press is the only question. We have in New Jersey decided for party ownership, and so have the S. L. P.—long since. The question is how to control the editors.

Frueh, S. L. P.—Let us not forget that we are now speaking of what constitutes a "means for unity." We are speaking of what is needed to unite the Socialist forces of the country. I do not understand by party press, the press of New Jersey. Thus far the discussion shows it is the dangers from a privately owned press are much greater than any disadvantages from a party owned press. I am convinced that party ownership is the thing. If greater advantages can be shown for private ownership let us have them.

Glanz, S. P.—There should not be any difficulty in settling this question. We who demand the collective ownership of the means of production should certainly collectively own the means for the dissemination of Socialist principles and information. If an editor is elected and what he writes does not suit, does not express the views of the party, does not fit the fault if we don't kick him out. We have seen some of the results of private ownership. It was only in the last campaign in New York that we saw Berger and Wilshire attacking the comrades and the party platform, and such action was practically an endorsement of the Marxist movement. There is no one that

can prove to me that De Leon ever betrayed the S. L. P. as Berger and Wilshire have the S. P. Whatever faults The People may have the S. L. P. is responsible for them, and before we can lay anything at De Leon's door it will have to be proven. I have heard stories similar to those heard by Comrade Reilly. One of the rumors I heard some time ago was from a New York S. P. comrade and it was to the effect that Richard K. Fox owns and controls the Daily People. I told the comrade that repeated the yarn that if he would bring me the proof I would see that it got into S. L. P. hands. Well, he hasn't got back with it yet. (Laughter.)

Eck, S. L. P.—As Comrade Glanz says, we who are collectivists cannot consistently balk at collective ownership of our press, the press of the movement. The question being called for by both sides, it was put and carried by unanimous vote: Resolved, That this Conference places itself on record as being opposed to all privately owned papers espousing the cause of labor, i. e., the Socialist cause.

Eck, S. L. P.—We are now to discuss what constitutes private ownership and this is a very important point. Take the "Volkszeitung" corporation, for instance: any S. P. party member can become a stockholder, he may afterward develop into a sorehead against the party, but he still remains a stockholder in the corporation, still remains in a position where he can vent his soreness on the party and do it damage. A stock corporation within the party is not party ownership. I am not anxious to offer all the resolutions, but as no one else does, I offer this:

Resolved, That this Conference places itself on record as looking upon all papers as privately owned, the property of which is not vested directly in the party through a committee or source designated by the party for such purpose. Seconded.

Killingbeck, S. P.—Some of you can remember when we had a united party, and owned a party press. The time came when some objected to the way things were going. A large minority, or was it the majority, broke away from the S. L. P. The matter was taken into the courts, where it dragged for a long time, meanwhile two "Peoples" were issued. At a convention in Worcester, Mass., we had one side tearing up one "People," the other side tearing up the other "People," until we were wading knee-deep in "Peoples," and it took the police force to keep order. That was one result of party ownership. Who did, from a moral standpoint, if we can speak of a moral standpoint in the Socialist movement, who did own The People—the so-called Kangaroo faction or the S. L. P. faction? Through the capitalist courts the so-called Kangaroo faction lost the name of the paper and the party name as well. Mind you, this was the work of the capitalist courts. I hope the S. L. P. side won't take offense; I am quoting historical facts. Some of us might say along Comrade Eck's line of reasoning that The People became a privately owned press. Was that minority soreheads?

Eck, S. L. P.—I did not say that they were or were not soreheads. I merely supposed a case. I supposed that a gathering of men in the party started a paper and refused to stand by the party, what then? As to the acts of 1899: which side stood by the party's official declaration, when in 1896 the party declared in favor of the S. T. & L. A. I. It was this that was the bone of contention. The party press stood by the party's decree, the William Street corporation opposed it, and it was this that caused the split.

Reilly, S. P.—Comrade Killingbeck says the 1899 split was caused by the party owned press. I wasn't in the movement then, but from what I have read and heard, from both sides, my conclusion is that the split was forced by the privately owned press, because they realized, yes, saw, that a party owned press was coming, and that certainly meant that the privately owned press would have to go.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—Is Comrade Killingbeck sure as to which side it was that took the fight into the capitalist courts? As a matter of fact it was not the S. L. P., it was the privately owned press that sought the capitalist courts. Walker, S. P.—We are discussing 1899, this is 1906. The true history of 1899 has not yet been written, may never be. The Socialists of this country since 1899 have been guilty of one of the greatest blunders ever perpetrated. I believe the split of 1899 was not necessary, and had both sides been animated by true Socialist sentiment it could not have occurred. I knew that the Volkszeitung has been guilty of a good many mistakes, like other papers, but we should not forget that it went into its pockets and spent thousands of dollars up to 1899 to keep The People going. In '99 the split was not on the question of a

privately owned press, it was a question of tactics. The editor of The People took a certain position, the directors of the Volkszeitung took another. That caused the split. It is an open question if a party owned press is feasible at the present time. When the movement is thoroughly organized and the spirit of discipline is thoroughly enforced then a privately owned press will be a crime. It's risky putting up money for a party owned press. We don't know how it will result, and we may be pouring money into a hole. De Leon once said that the more papers you print the greater the loss. He said it would be impossible to get advertising for the Daily People, while it would be easy to get ads. for a Hungarian, German or other language Socialist paper. The press referendum in this State did not really express the sentiment of all the party members. When the time comes let us have a party owned press, until then the question should be left open and the best paper will survive. Those that make any cracks against Socialism will go down. It will be suicide for them to say anything against the movement. In party ownership the danger is that only three or four per cent. of the membership will take active interest. From bitter experience I know it is hard to control the press. Look at our "Bulletin" to-day—a little paper for the purpose of giving us the party news, it is certainly party owned, but its chief use is as a place where official dirty linen is washed. Until we are strong enough to establish it we should not have a party owned press, meanwhile if The People, or the "Worker," or any other paper comes nearest the Socialist ideal you will see its subscription list go up. We are here to put ourselves on record for political unity.

Glanz, S. P.—As I understand it, the resolution means that all papers must be under the N. E. C.

Eck, S. L. P.—Not exactly that. All papers whose property is not vested in the national party organization are private papers. In the S. L. P. no member, committee, or section of the party, can publish a paper without the sanction of the N. E. C. and then all the property of such a paper as far as practicable must be vested in the N. E. C., free from any financial or legal liability, the election of the editor being subject to the approval of the N. E. C.

Glanz, S. P.—In West Hoboken we have a little paper owned by the local; under the resolution that would be a private paper?

Eck, S. L. P.—Ownership by a local is not strong enough. A local might be pulled away from the party, and then its paper could be used as a club against the party.

McGarry, S. L. P.—I would like to see embodied in the resolution that ownership must be vested in the national organization as there is just as much danger of a state pulling away.

Walker, S. P.—I would amend by saying that we place ourselves on record as advocating a party press owned and controlled by the party.

Seconded by James, S. P.

Eck, S. L. P.—Let us not try to dissolve it away. We want to state what really constitutes private ownership.

Schmittler, S. L. P.—I must agree with Comrade Eck as to making proper definitions and distinctions. Comrade Walker has stated that the Volkszeitung laid out thousands of dollars for The People; say that it has; where did it get it? It got it from the movement and for that very purpose. We have been told for years that the members of the Volkszeitung corporation had to be members of the party and that this was a guarantee of the party control of the press. Some stockholders, they claimed, did not and would not belong to the party, but they said the bulk of them did, but isn't it also true that to the extent that the non-party members held stock that they too exercised control? The Volkszeitung while acknowledging that it is not party owned claims to be the party press and true to the party. In one breath they tell us they are the party press, in the next they say they are a corporation. The split of 1899 occurred because the Volkszeitung corporation took a position in direct opposition to the party, and the party could do nothing. The party did not control the corporation, because it had the vested right. The party was helpless so far as control was concerned. We want to fix it so that there can be no quirming out in future.

Headley, S. P. (Chairman)—When an organization is formed in a new state, it is necessary for it to apply to the national organization. When a new paper is to be published application for the power to do so must be made to the national organization.

Walker, S. P.—Comrades, on the other side say the Volkszeitung claims to be a party paper. It never said that. To become a stockholder a man had to be a party member, though once out of the party he could still remain a stockholder.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—This pretending to be the party press puts me in mind of the yellow journal. It proclaims itself

the paper of the people, but you just try and get something into it that would be of interest and benefit to its readers, to the people, which, of course, means against the class for which the journal stands, and you'll find out mighty quick whose paper it is. As to the Volkszeitung spending its money, the Socialist press, private or party, is only supported by us digging down in our pockets. It would be foolish to depend upon individual rivalry to keep privately owned papers straight. If a person can become a stockholder of the Volkszeitung the way Comrade Walker states, what is to hinder men from joining the S. P. so they can become stockholders, and then, getting out of the party, do as they like with the paper?

Kiehn, S. P.—The amendment offered doesn't define the nature of the ownership. In America we have had little experience in party ownership, even the S. L. P. has owned but one paper. In Germany there have been differences of opinion between the editors of different but party owned papers and the press committee and party sentiment in general. The ownership of the press in capitalist society is not a security that we would control it. You could legally own it and yet not control it. The capitalist courts might shift the ownership to suit their purposes when the battle against capitalism is on. I don't see any guarantee of party control except dependence upon the individual integrity of those who at any time may be in charge of the paper. In Germany, the official organ of the party was in opposition to the general opinions of the party membership and the editors were forced to resign, and now opposition has developed within the party to the forcing of the resignation of the editors.

Koettgen, S. L. P.—I would like to ask the comrades: does the party in Germany legally own the press?

Kiehn, S. P.—No, it is owned individually through the party organization.

Koettgen, S. L. P.—It was always impressed upon us that the Volkszeitung was the party press, but the time came when we found out that it was not. It was the party press when it needed funds; it was not the party press when the party called on it. The party at all hazards must own its press and we can't be too careful how we place its control. We have had some experience with the Daily People. It was first placed in the hands of three trustees and when their management was found unsatisfactory we found our hands tied and it took a general vote of the party to dislodge the trustees. There is a warning for us in that. The national organization must be in control.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—Comrade Kiehn seems to think that an unincorporated body cannot own property. That is a mistake; such organizations can own property, and the S. L. P. owns property. Comrade Kiehn brings illustrations from Germany. I can bring some from England. The S. D. F. claims "Justice" as a party owned paper; well, it is owned by the Twentieth Century Company, and that is owned by Rosebery and his crowd. The "Labor Leader" of the I. L. P. until two years ago was owned by Keir Hardie, and through it Hardie dominated the I. L. P.; afterward he turned it over to a corporation of I. L. P. members. How the paper was sustained was a mystery to some. I remember when that paper was used to boom capitalist enterprises by articles describing Irish and Scotch scenery in the interest of hotels and railroads. I hear that the corporation publishing the paper has pulled away from the party. It is the same kind of trouble as we had here.

Kiehn, S. L.—I didn't intend to infer that I doubted the legality of the party owning anything. What I doubt is that the party can control the press when it does own it.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I would amend the amendment with the following: That it be the sense of this Conference that no paper or magazine shall be considered an official organ, unless it has the endorsement of the national organization and shall be owned by members of the party or by the national organization.

Seconded by Gregory, S. P.

Frueh, S. L. P.—I would call attention to the fact that this does not cover. The giving of consent to publish does not imply control of the paper by the body giving the consent. The important thing is that the property of the paper be vested in the national organization.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—Has any paper of the S. P. received the endorsement of the party?

Reilly, S. P.—No. The party cannot endorse any paper.

Question called for by both sides. The amendment to the amendment was lost by a vote of twenty-two to two; the amendment was lost by a vote of twenty to four; the original motion

Resolved, That this Conference places itself on record as looking upon all papers as privately owned, the property of which is not vested directly in the party through a committee or source

designated by the party for such purpose."

then being put, was carried by a vote of twenty-three to one, the S. L. P. votes being cast solidly each time.

The hour for adjournment having arrived the session was extended until six o'clock as the conference had been nearly an hour late in opening.

Eck, S. L. P.—At this stage of our proceedings I think it well to call the attention of the Conference to a grave injustice that has been done this body, and the Socialist movement as a whole. I have here from the Volkszeitung what purports to be the minutes of our first meeting, as sent out for publication, bearing the names of the two secretaries, which would convey the idea that it is official. I will read you a translation, and to any German who doubts the literalness of it, I am not only willing but would like to compare the two. (Eck read his translation, and no one controverted it. It was very evident that what the Volkszeitung had published was not the minutes of the Conference as authorized for publication, but a distorted summary. Eck asked: Did you, Comrade Reilly, give out or sign any such minutes as these?)

Secretary Reilly—No, I did not!

Eck—Did you, Comrade Hosack, give out or sign any such minutes?

Secretary Hosack—No!

Eck—Did you, comrades of this Conference, authorize any such minutes as I have just read. (Cries of "No" from both sides.) An S. L. P. editor might do the same thing but we could put him out. How else can we view this work of the Volkszeitung but as an attempt to mislead our German comrades? And isn't it pretty good evidence that we can't control a privately owned press? This Conference is anxious that its proceedings be truthfully put before the working class, and as the Volkszeitung has not done so, it has not done us alone an injustice: it has done it to its readers and to the working class movement. I have compared the full minutes as published in the "Worker," and find that, there also, here and there a word is missing, and the omission weakens the sense. It all goes to show how much control you have over the privately owned press.

Eck read portions from the "Worker" where discrepancies appeared.

McGarry, S. L. P.—Comrade Reilly has asked some questions here that I think Comrade Hosack can answer, and I would like to have them answered.

Point of order raised and sustained.

Reilly, S. P.—I think we have thrashed this out pretty well, and I would move that this Conference place itself on record as recognizing that the Socialist movement cannot control a privately owned press. Seconded.

The following amendment by Schmittler, S. L. P., was accepted as part of the motion:

"Resolved, That privately owned Socialist papers cannot be controlled by the true proletarian, political movement, i. e., the Socialist movement. But that contrarily such privately owned papers tend to control the movement."

Frueh, S. L. P.—While the original motion is all right I think the amendment makes it stronger because it points out that the movement will be a reflex of how its press is owned.

Gregory, S. P.—Thomas Jefferson said that he would rather have a press controlling the country than a government controlling the country. No other power wields such an influence in moulding opinions and ideas as the press. The modern press controls public thought. The Socialist press can do the same. To me it is a very important question whether we should allow such a tremendous power to remain in the hands of a few individuals, to give them the power to mold the thoughts of their readers in whatever direction they may choose. All readers are more or less influenced by the manner in which papers are conducted, how they handle subjects.

Now whoever controls or influences my thoughts controls me, and the ignorance of the people to-day is due mainly to newspaper deception and trickery. We cannot be too careful on this matter of party press. Speakers on the street corner exert but little influence as compared to our papers which reach far greater audiences day by day or week by week, as the case may be. It is of the utmost importance that we here rightly decide into whose hands we should put the conducting of our papers, so that readers may get information and ideas and form opinions in strict accordance with that for which we stand.

Eck, S. L. P.—If the Volkszeitung did not control the German comrades by shutting off information from them, do you think the German comrades would stand for this sort of thing? (Holds up the Volkszeitung mutilation of minutes).

Walker, S. P.—It is a mistake to be dragging the Volkszeitung Corporation into this Conference. At the last meeting I protested against an editorial from the People being read, yet nearly all our time to-day has been taken up fighting 184 William Street, and in doing this we are making a grave mistake. I

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came into this Conference to unite the Socialist movement on the political field. Of course the Volkszeitung exercises an influence on its readers, all papers do. We are handicapped at the start; we are trying to overcome obstacles that are almost insurmountable. Don't keep dragging in the Volkszeitung. If you keep pounding them how can you expect them to publish your minutes. It is wrong to drag in The People too.

Reilly, S. P.—What Comrade Walker has said demonstrates the importance of voting for the resolution. He says the Volkszeitung exerts an influence, therefore it is a big mistake to oppose it, which is proof enough that the S. P. cannot control the paper. Are we here to so shape our acts a certain way because we fear the minutes will be distasteful to the owners of that paper? Our resolution says that privately owned papers tend to control the party, and I think that what Comrade Walker has said proves the truth of it. We want to cut out all possibility of such a control over the party, and instead have the party exert a power over the press. Comrade Walker just asserted that we are handicapped at the start; if so, isn't it by this private press that controls our party membership? We must keep silent on private press so as not to offend their owners, he says. If they didn't control us we wouldn't need to fear offending them.

Glanz, S. P.—I can give an instance that bears that out. This morning a certain comrade came to the County Committee and asked what is being done at this Conference? I asked him if the Jewish paper had not published the report. He said No, and that they would not as they considered it against them. To me that proves conclusively that the privately owned press is even now using its influence against us, and that press has an influence upon our members. We should let them know that we recognize these facts whether they like it or not.

Frueh, S. L. P.—Comrade Walker talks as if the Volkszeitung was the issue, which is not so. The object of this Conference, having unity in view, is to see upon what points we agree, and, if on any we disagree, the reason why. In the discussion incidents of the past, names of men, and of papers, will be used, but only because they are germane to the subjects. If the conduct of The People can be proved the stumbling block to the movement, then let us say so; if it is the Volkszeitung, or any other paper, that is at fault let us say so. To do that isn't a raking open of old sores. Remember it is unity we have in view and how to accomplish it.

James, S. P.—Judging from what Eck has read to us from certain papers, the only conclusion is that they garbled the

minutes. Why did they? Because they wanted to influence their readers against our work. That kind of thing is underhanded work and proof to me that private ownership of the press is an injury to the Socialist movement. They had no right to change a word, especially not to change words so that the sense is upset. I notice in one place there it makes us look ridiculous. We have nothing to lose by voting for a party-owned press.

Killingbeck, S. P.—The party may own a press and that press may own the party too. You will remember that after the split in 1899 the S. D. P. and the so-called Kangaroo faction held a convention at Indianapolis for the purpose of union. So far as the convention was concerned we did unite, but the S. D. P. had a party-owned press. In its first issue after the convention closed, that party-owned press, under the influence of Stedman, Berger, Heath & Co. came out against the action of the convention, issued a manifesto against it and practically disrupted the unity. That press wielded such a power that it swayed the S. D. P. members against what their delegates had done at Indianapolis. The result was that we went into that national campaign with a Springfield faction, a Chicago faction and the S. L. P. While individual ownership may have its faults, party-ownership has more dangers; we won't have reached perfection when we have a party-owned press.

Question called for by both sides, the resolution (This conference places itself on record as recognizing that the Socialist movement cannot control a privately owned press), with amendment (That privately owned Socialist papers cannot be controlled by the true proletarian political movement, i. e., the Socialist movement. But that, contrarily, such privately owned papers tend to control the movement), being put to vote, was carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to meet Sunday, February 18th, 2 p. m., at Liberty Hall, Spring and Shippen streets, West Hoboken.

The Conference adjourned with the mutual recognition on both sides that the press of the movement is its greatest weapon, and that whatever the difficulties arising from Party ownership of the press, they are trifling compared to what such difficulties become when the material interests of individual ownership sway them, or when designing or ambitious men control the private press. The Conference recognized that party ownership and control of the press of the movement are essential to the party safety.

James M. Reilly,
Secretary for S. P.
John Hosack,
Secretary for S. L. P.

Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1893.....	2,058
In 1896.....	31,137
In 1898.....	36,954
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

Rich men invest money in shares.
They expect dividends; they ask for
dividends as goodly as the grapes of
Eden. Dividends can only be produced
by squeezing, sweating, overcharging,
and underpaying—in a word, by tramp-
ling.—WALTER BESANT.

THREE BULL'S EYES.

Three distinct bull's-eyes were hit at
the fourth session of the S. L. P. and
S. P. conference of New Jersey, the min-
utes of which are published elsewhere in
this issue.

The subject for discussion was the
ownership of the press. The conference
placed itself successively on record as
"looking upon all papers as privately
owned, the property of which is not vest-
ed directly in the party"; as "being op-
posed to all privately owned papers op-
posing the Cause of Labor"; and, last
not least, as "recognizing that the So-
cialist Movement cannot control a
privately owned press," seeing that "the
privately owned Socialist papers can not
be controlled by the true proletarian
political movement, but that, contrarily
such privately owned papers tend to
control the Movement." The last of
these three bull's-eyes, which combined
a motion from an S. P. and an amend-
ment from an S. L. P. representative,
was the result and culmination of a dra-
matic scene, in which the mutilated,
falsified and, in some instances, even
forged publications of the minutes of the
conference by the "Volkzeitung" and
"The Worker" having been proved, an
S. L. P. member of the conference rose
in his seat, and holding up the lying
sheets, pronounced them guilty of at-
tempting to deceive and thereby to in-
jure the Working Class, while another,
an S. P. member of the conference added
fuel to the fire of indignation, and threw
additional light upon the viciousness of
private ownership, by narrating his ex-
perience with some Jewish comrades,
who, anxious though they were to be
informed upon the proceedings of the
conference, were in the dark thereon
because, as they said themselves, their
privately owned Jewish papers sup-
pressed the report of the conference "as
they considered it against them."

Congressman Adamson of Georgia, re-
ferring, in the course of a debate, on the
30th of last month, to the power of the
press, said:

"Newspaper men are smart and witty,
if not always prophetic. Sometimes they
are right, always powerful, perhaps more
powerful than any class, element, or
agency in this country, not even except-
ing the twelve or fourteen billion dollars
and several hundred thousand smart men
engaged in resisting the enactment and
enforcement of laws to protect the peo-
ple against the exactions and discrimina-
tions of common carriers. Newspaper men
can doom to success or failure any mea-
sure. They can do to glory or to shame
any man or woman. At the behest of
their ubiquitous activity and power mil-
lions of Senators, Cabinet ministers
rise or fall, and even mighty Presidents
tremble or triumph according to the at-
titude of the press."

It is true. The press is a weapon more
potent than machine and dynamite guns.
The Revolutionary Movement of Labor—
compelled, as no other revolutionary
Movement ever was compelled before, to
form its lines in the open, under the very
fire of the foe—would be simply child-
ishly thoughtless if it allowed that potent
weapon to be vested in private hands,
exposed at any time to be operated as
private interests, whim or malevolence
may dictate; and it would be criminally
negligent to nurse such a privately
owned weapon into power, as into power
it would inevitably be nursed in the
measure that the Movement threatened
the powers that be. Unerring was the
instinct of the craft-Union-owned Volk-
zeitung Corporation in its desperate
onslaught to capture, and, seeing it could
not capture, to shatter the press of the
Socialist Labor Party; unerring was the
instinct of the S. L. P. that inspired it
to the triumphantly heroic stand that
saved its press. So important was this,
the "Press Issue," that it is hard to tell
which was the supreme—the Question of
Unionism or the Question of the
Press-Ownership.

THE PERCENTAGE OF SCATTER.

The "harmony" that has broken out
between ex-Anna Gould and her loving
husband Count Boni Castellane is one of
those incidents providentially supplied
by Nature's Laws to illustrate Socialist
Truth and confute Capitalist Fiction.
More than one Truth does this particu-
lar incident confirm, more than one
Fiction does it demolish. Let's take up
one of these.

The problem of the concentration of
wealth into the hands of the few, and
its resultant problem of pauperization,
with its long train of evils, for the
masses, has long engaged the thoughts
of thinking minds. The Mosaic law
sought to remedy the evil by a system
of periodical re-distributions, called
"jubilees"; others, with breasts less full
of controversy, sought to meet the issue
by fleeing from it, seeking to turn man's
mind from the earth, where he is born,
and turning it towards heaven, where
he is not; others again, perceiving frac-
tions of the Truth sought to reform so-
ciety, some by single tax methods of land
valuation, others by restrictive measures
of production; finally, the Socialists pro-
pose a comprehensive reconstruction of
society intended to eliminate the cause of
the evil. It is beside the question in
this inquiry to determine which of these
schools has the whole Truth. Suffice it
to observe that they all agree upon the
principle that wealth tends to concen-
trate into ever fewer hands. As against
them stands the capitalist economist. He
denies the principle. He grants the ten-
dency of wealth concentration only as a
transitory phenomenon. According to
him wealth is in constant flux: it concen-
trates and scatters, concentrates again
only again to scatter, and so on perpetu-
ally. According to him and to some mystic
law, which he does not attempt to define,
wealth concentration takes care of itself
by itself re-scattering and thus undoing
all the evils of mass pauperization. The
capitalist economist even affects to prove
his theory. He seizes greedily upon
every prodigal who wastes his inheri-
tance, and points to such instances as
proofs of his claim. Unfortunately for
the superficial capitalist economist, there
is periodically a Castellane revelation
that scatters his theory.

The legal proceedings, to which the
Castellane row has led, bring out two
sets of facts—one that the Count's debts
are immense; this fact would give a
color to the claim of the capitalist econ-
omist; here we would have a spend-
thrift making ducks and drakes of the
millions which his deceased father-in-
law plundered and collected from the
American working class; the other set of
facts, however, gives an insight below
the surface of things: the scatterer could
scatter only ONE-TENTH OF THE
GOULD HOARD: nine-tenths of that
hoard stuck to the nails of the money
lender who loaned him the advances that
he needed. In other words: The con-
centrated, the bulk of the concentrated
Gould wealth remained concentrated; it
changed hands from the Gould family
into the money lender's family; but that
is not to "scatter"; one member of the
capitalist class lost it, another member
of the same class got it; it remained, ac-
cordingly, in the capitalist family, or
class; what was scattered was relatively
a trifle, only one-tenth; even if it were
spent upon the working class, that small
percentage cannot counteract or over-
throw the larger percentage of concen-
tration; but even that percentage did not
go to labor—not of the ranks of the
Working Class were the precious
"purity-of-the-family-upholding" ladies
upon whom Jay Gould's son-in-law be-
stowed the ten per cent. of "scatter."

The concentration of wealth into the
hands of the capitalist class is a steady
process. In the course of the process,
the concentrated hoards frequently
change hands, but only in lump. Vulgar
superficial capitalist economy calls that
"scattering." Socialist economy
points to the fact that the hoard re-
mained in the hands of the same class
that held it before. There is a leakage
during the process, a "scattering"; the
percentage thereof is, however, trifling—
one-tenth in the Castellane instance, a
little more in some, a good deal less in
others—and even that percentage of
scatter, like little rivulets, temporarily
turned from the main stream, naturally
trickle back again to where they came from.

Here is a social ulcer. Socialism alone
carries the lancet that will cut it out.

"HOMES" FOR CHILDREN.

In 1902 there were in the State of
New York 27,385 children dependent
upon charity; in 1903 the number rose
to 27,800; in 1904 the number went
still further up, to 30,170; finally, in
1905, the highest figure was reached—
30,247. Was the country at war dur-
ing these four years, losing upon some
distant battle field the fathers of these
thousands of little ones, thus leaving
them to the charity of the people? Or
did some earthquake yawn and devour
the parents? Or was the State swept
by some pestilential breath, to which
adults succumbed with predilection?
No; these were years of "unexampled

peace and prosperity", to use the favor-
ite expression of the capitalist press,
professors and pulpiteres. And so they
were—to a certain class. That the
"peace" and "prosperity" did not ex-
tend to all classes the swelling figures
of children dependent upon charity at-
test.

There is no occasion for any child
to be thrown upon charity. The wealth
produced by its father is ample to sup-
port it even if the father be carried away
by some untoward accident. But the
wealth produced by him he is prevented
from producing; even the wealth he
is allowed to produce is pilfered away
from him; on top of it all his life and
limbs are in permanent danger. What
wars, pestilence and earthquakes can
accomplish in the way of devastation
Capitalism—a war, a pestilence and an
earthquake combined—achieves. The
corpses of the slaughtered workmen are
buried under ground. But the track
of the war-pestilence-earthquake is
marked above ground by the "Homes
for Children"—veritable debris that
tell, and only partly tell, of the devas-
tation that is wrought—and by the palat-
ial mansions of the Anna Goulds and
Consuelo Vanderbilts—the transmuted fi-
bre, bone and marrow of the departed
and departing parents of the present
and the future inmates of the "Homes".

INDUSTRIALISM.

Whatever may come from the confer-
ence, now being held in this city between
the coal operators and the special scale
committee of thirty-six, made up of the
United Mine Workers, with Mitchell at
its head, it already has served the pur-
pose of throwing up a fact of prime im-
portance in helping to make clear the broad
and deep difference there is between
Craft Unionism and Industrialism.

The conference is about coal, about
mines, about the wages of coal produc-
ers. And yet, with the exception of only
three of the representatives of the coal
companies, these three being "independ-
ent" operators, that is, representatives of
small concerns, all the other representa-
tives are presidents of railroad compa-
nies. Nor is that all. So prominent is
the railroad standing of these represen-
tatives that they are entered on the rolls
of the conference, not as coal mine barons,
but with their respective titles in full
of railroad kings—President of the
Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Com-
pany, President of the Delaware, Lacka-
wanna and Western Railroad Company,
President of the Erie Railroad Company,
etc., etc. On the other hand, the so-
called industrially organized Mitchell
Union is represented by miners exclu-
sively; not a railroad worker is there
present through them; not remotely so.
Looking a little closer the fact will be
detected that most of these presidents
of Railroad Companies are also promi-
nent personages in insurance, banking
and other concerns, some of them as
directors, others in other leading capaci-
ties; in other words, they jointly repre-
sent capital, INDUSTRIALLY ORGAN-
IZED. On the other side of the board
sit the representatives of only one craft
—the A. F. of L. coal miners—discon-
nected, not against their will, not by ac-
cident, but by principle, from all other
crafts. When, at this coal conference,
the railroad Presidents speak, it is in-
dustrially organized capital that speaks;
when they act, it will be industrially or-
ganized capital that will act. When
Mitchell and his other thirty-five craft
unionists open their mouths it is a dis-
located jaw that clatters: when they
subsequently act, it will be palsied arm
that will act—the dislocated jaw and
palsied arm of Labor, palsied and dis-
located by Craft Unionism.

If a strike is declared, for instance,
by a craft Union of printers against a
printing establishment, no member of
that Union will think of going to work
there. The inhibition lies against every
single member. The utterance of the re-
presentatives of that Union is the utter-
ance of all the members. They speak
and act as a unit. What craft Unionism
establishes with regard to each separate
craft, Industrial Unionism establishes
for all together. The consequences of
the two systems are as different as night
is from day. Craft Unionism dislocates
the Labor Movement into as many mem-
bers as there are crafts; Industrial Union-
ism binds them all into ONE Union. Craft
Unionism demands loyalty only from
the members of that particular
craft organization towards one another;
Industrial Unionism demands loyalty
from all the members of the I. W. W.
towards one another. Craft Unionism
denounces as a scab only the member
of that particular craft organization that
remains at work where it has declared
a strike, and it allows the members of
the other craft organizations in the iden-
tical shop to remain at work; Industrial
Unionism, being ONE Union, brands as a
scab whatever other craft organization
remains at work in the establishment in
which any one member, whatever his
special craft, is on strike by the author-
ity of the I. W. W. Craft Unionism de-
liberately keeps the majority of the
Working Class disorganized, closes the
shop against them, and thereby compels
scabbery; Industrial Unionism opens the

shop, and thereby its own doors, to all,
thereby leaving no room for "involun-
tary scabbery" on the same principle
that the Socialist Republic will leave no
room for "involuntary poverty." In
short, taking the picture presented by
the conference between railroad presi-
dents, or capitalism industrially organ-
ized, on the one hand, and autonomous
miners on the other—taking that picture
as a horrible example to be eschewed,
and as a foil on which to contrast the
I. W. W., Craft Unionism is smitten
with locomotor ataxia, Industrial Union-
ism is in virile control of the power to
co-ordinate the muscles of the Labor
Movement into harmonious action.

THAT COMMON LEVEL.

The Yonkers, N. Y., "Statesman" feels
quite confident that "the Socialistic
dream of a 'common level' is not likely
of realization; for support in this con-
clusion it leans upon the theory that
individual endowment is extremely di-
vergent. The 'Statesman' leans on a
broken reed—the identical reed on which
leaned the McCalls, the Alexanders, and
the Schmittbergs of recent date, the
slave-holders of two generations ago, and
the brigands in general of all previous
times.

The McCalls and Alexanders had men-
tal and moral endowments that diverged
quite pronouncedly from the endowments
of their stock-holders. They had a knack
to steal trust funds, to make false re-
turns to the Government and to lie
that was both eminent and unique. The
Schmittbergs' special endowment was to
conspire against shippers and cheat the
government. With the slave-holders the
special bump of "endowment" was to
breed slaves (themselves taking a hand
in the breeding) and browbeat the gov-
ernment. As to the brigands in general,
the robber barons, for instance, their
forte was an "endowment" that caused
them to feel quite convinced that the
rest of humanity was there only to be
plundered. What became of the Mc-
Calls, the Alexanders, the Schmittbergs,
the slave-holders, the robber barons, etc.,
it is possible that even the "Statesman"
has heard. They were allowed to keep
their precious "endowments", but another
set of people, whose "endowments"
were so extremely divergent from those
of the above named worthies as to con-
flict therewith, clipped their wings and
sent them packing. Obviously "diver-
gence of endowment" is no protection.
Obviously also, civilization is not scared
by the cry of "common level" raised by
every usurper.

It is admitted by Socialism that the
"endowment" of the capitalist class di-
verges radically from that of the work-
ing class—the former's "endowment" be-
ing to live without work, the latter's to
work without living. It is also admitted
by Socialism that it proposes to level
down the capitalist idler to the common
level of WORK. But—if the "States-
man" is not too much upset at the pros-
pect of the class, that pays it to seek
to dope the workers with quibbles and
platitudes, being dragged down to the
common level of WORK, and has wit
enough left to listen to one more bit of
confidence—we shall whisper into the
"Statesman's" ear the information that
Socialism actually proposes to raise the
working class from its present common
level of "working without living" to the
higher level of "working and enjoying
the full fruits of its labor", and also to
enforce the principle that he who does
not work, neither shall he live. Fain
would we be less "croil" then to open
up so dire a vista to the "Statesman".
But "so it ever was and ever will be"—
"croil" is a feature of those standing
on the "common level".

THE LIVING FACTS.

Books without end could be spun out
upon the theory concerning the inevit-
ableness of class rule under capitalism,
together with the conclusion that Con-
gress constitutes a "class government,"
and that the laws, which our so-called
"National Legislature" grinds out and
considers, are no more "national" than
the raw beefsteaks, which Roosevelt de-
vours, settle down into the "national"
stomach. But theories are symptoms of
unripe times. Ripe times are so fertile
in living facts that theories need engage
little if any thought. The living facts
are so luscious and numerous that they
bring the theory with them. In a way
they are "food for mind and body." Such
are the ripened times in which this gen-
eration lives. The living facts tumble
down from the trees in such quantities
that it is almost impossible to gather
them all in. One of these was the living
fact that tumbled down from the tree
during the debate in the House of Repre-
sentatives on the railroad rate bill.

The railroad companies have organized
themselves into a tableau of persected
innocence. Wicked people are harassing
them. For why? Out of pure wicked-
ness. The railroads are charged with
making too much money; aye, with
plundering the public. The fact is that
it is hard to tell a railroad board of di-
rectors from any avowed charitable in-
stitution. They prove it too. "By mak-
ing comparison between the charges of a
few years ago and those of to-day, it

will be found that what is called the
"average ton-mile rate" has gradually
been reduced!"! The anti-railroad in-
terests in the House did not allow them-
selves to be taken in. One of the Repre-
sentatives, in particular, looked into the
figures. What he found was that freight
is divided into various classes, such as
first, third, fourth, etc. In class 1, high-
grade articles, paying a high grade of
freight, such as silks, are placed; in the
sixth, or some lower grade, is coal,
which pays a lower rate. It follows that
if the amount of freight in the sixth
class increases, while the amount in the
first class remains the same, it would ap-
pear as if the average ton-mile rate had
been reduced; it also follows that if the
amount of freight in the first class is
increased out of proportion to the sixth
class, it would appear, despite the in-
crease in the average ton-mile rate, that
the specific rates remain the same. Fi-
nally, the investigation showed, first,
that the low-grade freights have in-
creased materially; secondly, that more
than 600 articles have been changed
from a lower classification to a higher,
thereby imposing a higher freight rate
upon those articles, and yet the increase
in lower-grade freight had been so enor-
mous that the average ton rate did not
increase in proportion to the actual in-
crease in rates. In short, the railroads
had so juggled with "averages" that, al-
though their rates had actually increased
it appeared as if the rates had declined.
To put it in still shorter terms—the rail-
roads told a partial truth, thereby utter-
ing a robustious lie.—Against that jug-
lery the House cried: "Shame!"
"Fraud!"

New look at this other picture. These
identical railroads, following a very com-
mon practice among capitalists, are in
the habit of "raising the wages" of one
craft in their employ at the expense of
the wages of some other craft, and thus,
despite the reduction that most of their
employees have to suffer, make it appear
that the average wages which they pay
have not declined. To illustrate: Sup-
pose a Company has 1,000 men working
and paying them \$2,000 a day. The av-
erage wages would be \$2. Now suppose
the Company takes 200 of these 1,000
men, raises their wages to \$4 a day, and
lowers the wages of the remaining 800
men to \$1.50. The result would be that
the condition of the large majority will
have declined, and yet the average will
have suffered no change whatever; it
will have remained \$2. Below the sur-
face of identical "averages" a condition
of actual decline in well-being would lie
concealed.

Against this particular jugglery the
"National Legislature" had not a word
to say. Why? Because the jugglery
cut into the flesh of the Working Class.
Against the jugglery of the "average
ton-mile rate" the "National Legisla-
ture" grew hot in the collar. Why?
Because that jugglery cut into the flesh
of the Capitalist Class, the shippers—a
luscious living fact that furnishes at
once an instance and the proof of CLASS
RULE.

To the dogs with theories! The living
facts are richer, by far. "The man who
theorizes," runs the warning of the
lyric sage, "is like a beast upon a barren
heath, surrounded round about with rich
green meadows."

"The Central Labor Union Journal"
of Erie, Pa., of February 3, is a "peach."
On its first page is an "Annual Review
of the Friendly List," i. e., of firms al-
leged to be "interested in the welfare and
advancement of the wage-earner."
Among these firms is "the Mutual Life
Insurance Company." Regarding this
corporation, the "Journal" says:

"The attitude of this mammoth in-
stitution toward labor has always been
most friendly and considerate and we
wish for it an era of ever increasing
success and prestige."

As every well-informed man knows,
the Mutual Life Insurance Co. is con-
trolled by Thomas F. Ryan, and is the
financial reservoir from which he draws
the floods of capital necessary to float
his various corporations; all of which
are notorious for their opposition to
union labor. We need but mention two
of them, the Tobacco Trust, with its
child labor, and the Metropolitan Rail-
way Company, with its hostility to or-
ganized labor, to make the point clear.
And it is this corporation that the "Jour-
nal" extolls in such disgusting terms!

What the "Journal" meant to say is
that the "Friendly List" is a review of
the corporations friendly to the "Jour-
nal" because it is so friendly to them;
which means that it works in their inter-
ests and against "the welfare and ad-
vancement of the wage-earner," by its
fraudulent methods.

Roosevelt is reported to favor the
death of the rate law. It was either that
or the political death of Roosevelt. No
capitalist politician can rise superior to
capitalist environment. The railroads
are more powerful than the mere "rad-
ical," no matter how powerful he may be.

More Capital, Less Labor.

The "Railroad Trainmen's Journal"
for February, under the caption, "More
Invested, Fewer Employes," delivers it-
self of the following:

"The report of the Bureau of Labor for
the State of Ohio for 1904, shows a
condition that we believe will be shown
in almost every State of the Union. It
shows an increase in the investment and
a decrease in the number employed. The
figures give this information, that nearly
\$20,000,000 more were invested and 21-
501 fewer employed in 1904 than in 1903.

"There was an increase, however, in
the number employed in offices of 895.
"In 7,761 factories reporting in 1904,
\$405,832,302 was invested. There were
268,716 men employed; 32,498 office men
and product worth \$720,662,642.75 was
made.

"Of this, \$720,662,642.75 produced in
goods, labor was paid in wages less than
one-fourth the amount, being \$164,318-
934.90. The superintendents and office
men received \$35,179,399.20.

"In 1903 over 60,000 men received an
advance in wages and only 4,000 a reduc-
tion, but in 1904 only 22,368 had their
wages raised and 21,322 had their pay
reduced.

"These figures are not calculated to
impress the wage worker with a belief
that these are prosperous times. 1904
shows that labor conditions were going
backward while investment was increas-
ing; they also show that almost one-
fourth of the amount paid for salaries
was paid for superintendence and office
expenses, leaving the remainder for the
great mass of the employees.

"The report from the same source
of a year ago made the statement that
the wages of women were not sufficient
for maintenance and compelled them to
seek other sources of revenue to live.
Other sources of revenue are of the kind
condemned by moral and legal opinion,
yet the law countenances the payment of
wages that compels female employees to
accept money derived from questionable
methods that they may live without
starving and suffering.

"One regrettable feature of the report
is that it is one year behind and we have
no means of knowing what one year has
done until another year has passed. But
even that does not stand in the way of
making an effort to remedy the great
evil of under payment for production."

This quotation can not be read with-
out noting the suppression of an impor-
tant fact, viz., the increased value of the
product manufactured in Ohio in the
year 1904. Why was this omitted? A
statement of the increased value of the
product would have made the declining
condition of labor in "prosperous times"
more glaring. Nor does the quotation's
general lack of understanding of the
problem involved escape notice. Nor
does the impotency of the remedy it
suggests. The "Railroad Trainmen's
Journal" is not alive to the reason that
causes capital to increase and output
grow, while Labor's wages decline. The
reason is not far to seek: The new invest-
ments represent mainly new and improv-
ed labor-displacing machinery. Nowhere is
this more conspicuous than on the rail-
roads, the "Journal's" own particular
domain, where new inventions in motive
power, rolling stock and maintenance
grow in size and value, while train crews
decrease in number and wages. With
machinery displacing labor, wages must
go down instead of up; for every dis-
placement of labor increases the supply
of labor and causes wages to fall. And
every fall in wages admits of a greater
division of plunder among labor's exploi-
ters—the capitalist class. The insurance
and other investigations have shown
that armies of relatives and friends of
corporation officials and stockholders,
together with armies of lawyers, lobby-
ists and other parasites, get office posi-
tions in which they do worse than noth-
ing, at big salaries; hence the increase
in the number of office "employees" and
the share of the product paid to them.
All this is a tendency of industrial evo-
lution, as manifested in the concentra-
tion of capital. Concentration of capital
is equivalent to the perfection of ma-
chinery; and that, in turn, is equivalent
to reduction of labor's forces. Concen-
tration of capital is also equivalent to
the complete control of capital by a few
capitalists; and this, in its turn, is
equivalent to the degradation and en-
slavement of labor, as set forth in Ohio's
official statistics.

This condition of affairs calls not for
remedy, but for abolition through the
social ownership of capital, via an eco-
nomic-political organization of labor that
will take and hold that which labor pro-
duces. The type of labor organization
represented by "The Railroad Trainmen's
Journal," can neither remedy nor abolish
this condition of affairs.

"Chivalry keeps me mute," says Boni.
As a new name for the Gould millions,
that's quite poetic. Silence is now, more
than ever, golden.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I don't see
the consistency of you Socialists ridicul-
ing the idea that Capital and Labor are
brothers.

UNCLE SAM—Probably because you
are not yet able to be consistent yourself.

B. J.—I don't think.

U. S.—You hit it that time.

B. J.—What do you mean?

U. S.—You don't think. You only think
you think.

B. J.—Oh, but I do think. Is it not a
fact that Capital and Labor are brothers?

U. S.—No, sir; not by a long shot.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—I mean what I say, and say
what I mean.

B. J.—You Socialists are such
founded sticklers.

U. S.—We Socialists insist on ti-
rect use of terms.

B. J.—Indeed? Explain yourself.

U. S.—Certainly. You admit do-
not, that Labor is not wealth.

B. J.—To be sure. Any fool would
cede that.

U. S.—Not excepting yourself?

B. J.—No. But what of it?

U. S.—Just this, Jonathan, Labor is
the producer of all wealth, Capital is a
part of it.

B. J.—Granted.

U. S.—Capital being the product of La-
bor, wherein is your consistency in say-
ing that it is the brother of its creator?

B. J.—The devil!

U. S.—No devil about it. You muddle-
heads who think you think are absolute-
ly unable to be consistent. Labor being
the creator of wealth it would be much
better sense to say that Labor is the
father of Capital. There would be some
consistency in claiming such relationship,
but to say that the creator and the cre-
ature are brothers is an absurdity.

B. J.—It does look that way.

U. S.—Consequently, the wherefore of
the whatness admonishes us to talk
United States; to think and keep think-
ing until we know we are thinking.

B. J.—I tumble.

U. S.—So, if there is any relationship
between Labor and Capital it cannot be
the relationship of brothers. It follows
that there would be more sense and con-
sistency in saying "the Earth is the
mother, Labor is the father and Capital
is the child."

B. J.—I begin to think.

U. S.—I hope so. Labor being the fa-
ther, does it not consistently follow that
he has the right to control, spank, di-
rect, influence, protect, command and re-
strain his child?

B. J.—It do.

U. S.—Far from being brothers, Labor
and Capital are to-day deadly enemies.
The enmity does not grow out of the
true relationship of the two, but out of
cause of the fact that the capitalist
shrewd, cunning schemers have
napped the child, controlled, educa-
tional developed all its strength, talent
power and pitted them against its
father. In the hands of the workers
would be the obedient, submissive and
of its creator, its father, but in the
hands

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, HEREIN AS THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

Citizen Henry Kuhn, Dear Sir:—
Your letter of January 15 containing \$200 (1033.75 francs) received; enclosed please find receipt for your check.

Please communicate to the comrades in the United States the deep gratitude of our Russian brothers for the tokens of solidarity which they have received in these days of trouble.

You will have by this time received acknowledgement of the \$112.25 sent this Bureau under date of January 2.

The address of the Bureau is: Maison du Peuple, No. 17, Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.

Yours fraternally,
Camille Huyamanns.

Secretary.

Brussels, Jan. 27.

II.

Citizen Henry Kuhn, Dear Sir:—
We hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 20, reminding \$200 (1033.75 francs), for the benefit of the Russian Revolution. Enclosed please find receipt for same.

In the name of our Russian comrades, thank you, and beg you to accept our fraternal greetings.

Camille Huyamanns, Secretary.
Brussels, Jan. 31.

OR THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
Enclosed find P. O. money order for thirty-one dollars and thirty cents (\$31.30) for the Russian Revolutionist Fund, which is the result of Branch Blythedale's effort in commemorating "Bloody Sunday." Mrs. Jobert, and myself acted as speakers, and Andriani as chairman. The following committee, T. Landini, G. Andriani, and the undersigned were elected to make a house to house canvass with the above result.

Fraternally,
W. H. Thomas.
Buena Vista, Pa., Feb. 11.

GETTING TOGETHER IN MICHIGAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
I have been in Saginaw five weeks; I came here from Detroit. A week ago, Sunday, Feb. 4, twenty of us workmen gathered at Central Labor Union Hall, at 9 a. m., to listen to a talk on the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, by Henry Ullrich. The following resolution was adopted: "That we unite for the working class and pledge ourselves to meet here every Saturday at 10 a. m., for the purpose of broadening out in Socialism; that someone be selected to talk or read a paper for at least half an hour." A collection netting \$2.27 was taken up.

Sunday, Feb. 11, we met again, eighteen of us; and some new faces; organized temporarily, with the title of "The Educational Labor Society." I was elected secretary. This time the collection netted \$2.

The discussions both Sundays were spirited, yet good natured; and covered chiefly "The Difference" between the principles and tactics of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party; general approval being shown for the I. W. W.

John Kortan.

Saginaw, Mich., Feb. 12.

"PUBLIC OWNERSHIP" PARTY.

YET JOIN S. L. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
The seismic disturbances which have been agitating the Public Ownership party in this state culminated to-day when the applications of twenty former members of Local Minneapolis, of that party were received by Section Minneapolis, S. L. P.

This is the result of a bitter struggle which they had carried on within the ranks of the Public Ownership party for to place that organization on a genuinely revolutionary plane. They struggled and fought with the reactionary element and the contest finally landed them on the outside.

Spurning all counsel to the contrary they refused to organize a third party

and decided to join hands with the S. L. P. This group represent the fighting force in that struggle and their action will in all probability influence another group of about twice their own number who now occupy a neutral position to take a similar step.

The addition of this number of workers imbued with a true revolutionary spirit, well grounded in the teachings of militant Socialism and active in its propagation will give Section Minneapolis a splendid working nucleus and one which will undoubtedly be well able to bear down all opposition which it may encounter, let it come from whatever source it will.

(Signed) Press Committee.
Minneapolis, Minn., February 11.

WHO CAN GIVE INFORMATION?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
Please tell me the correct form of the platform adopted by the Paris convention in 1889 solemnizing the 1st of May as an international workingmen's holiday, and at the same time a day on which to intensify the agitation for the emancipation of the working class.

I think the motto adopted reads like this: Eight hours' study (or pleasure?) and eight hours' rest. I wish you would tell me in your very estimated paper if the above is the right form.

H. E.
New York.

IT IS GROWING AND WILL CONTINUE TO GROW.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
Enclosed find \$5 which was collected here as a donation to the papers. We want to see The People grow and be a success forever.

Vincent Omgheri.
Hamden, Conn., Feb. 12.

IT IS THE SAME HAIRPIN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
Some of the S. P. men here are getting the "Cap Makers' Journal." One showed me some things in it that are a drawing of the long bow with regard to the I. W. W. Looking further, I noticed that the editor is one William Edlin, and it struck me as familiar. Wasn't there a William Edlin, who got out of the Socialist Labor Party in 1899? As I remember the circumstances, Section Holyoke, Mass., wanted a speaker and Edlin was sent, the national secretary giving him \$12 to pay his expenses. The section also paid his expenses. When Mr. Edlin got back he didn't show up at headquarters, but when seen he promised to make the money good, and I believe paid back \$6. You know how the events of June 10, 1899, were eagerly seized upon by more than one debtor of the party as an excuse to "liquidate." I remember that at that period party debtor Edlin wrote to the national secretary, saying that he could no longer support S. L. P. tactics! Is this William Edlin, of the "Cap-makers' Journal," the same hairpin that got out of the S. L. P. under the circumstances I name, or is this William Edlin another hairpin?

The S. P. men here are wondering why the Cap Makers' Journal should be sent to them free. They also wonder how their names and addresses are secured. Can it be that some S. P. paper, like the "Worker," "neutral" on the trade union movement, has put its mailing list at Edlin's disposal?

Yours anxiously,
George P. Herrschaft.
Jersey City, February 14.

AN EYE-OPENING ADMISSION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
About two months ago the Reeves Mfg. Co., a metal stamping concern, located in this town. They employed about sixty persons, and created a great deal of favorable sentiment among the innocent minded people here by an unheard of innovation in their shop rules: they allowed a ten-minute recess at 10 a. m. and another one at 3 p. m., without curtailing the noon hour. The merchants and business men applauded the scheme, the local press praised it, the employees didn't know what was behind it, and every one was happy and contented.

But now the cat is out of the bag. At a banquet to the business men of the town, given by the Reeves Co., Reeves, the president, rudely rent the veil as follows:

"By giving a ten minute recess twice a day, at a specified time, it was found that the men did more work and did not lose so much time. The men are not supposed to leave their places until the recess, and then after the recess, to keep their places until the closing hour at noon or night. There is so much competition that we have to get the most possible work out of the men for the money paid. If some other factory gets

more labor for the same price than we do, why they undersell us and we are lost. We discharged two men the other day, because they would not keep their places, but insisted on leaving their work before recess. We have got to make the men work hard, and get the most work out of them."

This speech has got around town and has served to open quite a few workingmen's eyes to the extent of the love Brother Capital bears them.

W. H. S.
Milford, Conn., Feb. 5.

BEWARE OF THE "FREE GRANT LAND".

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
For the information of the readers of The People who have heard about the Free Grant Lands in British Columbia, and are, perhaps, contemplating coming out here to "grow up with the country," as Horace Greeley put it, I would advise them to investigate before leaving where they are at. As for the "Free Grant Land," it isn't worth having; and, besides, it is not Free. No doubt a man in British Columbia or any new country has a better opportunity than in the congested centers of the East; but remember this, the Oriental is taking the place of the white man. As servants the Chinamen are preferable to the white girls. The reasons for this are many; for instance, a Chinaman will work cheaper on account of being able to live cheaper; he also is more servile. Perhaps he has been imbibing in scripture "Servants be obedient to your masters"; "Servants obey in all things your masters, according to the flesh," etc. The mills are occupied by the Japanese and a white man would starve on the wages they receive. Every avenue where Chinese or Japanese can work is being filled by them.

Many of the middle class here are "free grant" landers, who, being deceived by the Canadian Pacific Railway advertisements in the old country, have been compelled to return to their trades, opening cobbling shops, etc., to help them out.

This Canadian Pacific Railway spent thousands of dollars advertising British Columbia and Canadian "Free Grant Land" in the Old Country, the result was a tremendous immigration to this country and the more who immigrated the better for the C. P. R. as they got their money back in carrying these passengers. But the immigrant, what of him? Being broke, on arrival, he was up against the real thing. As this country is always overflooded with men at the best of times he no doubt did as a good many do: started to beg for a handout, and then, oh! the vagrancy act: \$10 or 20 days. Ain't it fine? The city treasury being depleted and the streets being in bad condition and the men who have been working for the city would like to continue working, if only \$1.50 to \$2 per day is paid; but, no money, no work; so you will see the vagrant on the street cleaning list in the near future. This is a sample of British Columbia "prosperity."

Bert Surges.
Vancouver, B. C., Feb. 5.

CHICAGO AND THE I. W. W.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
The I. W. W. is forging ahead in good style. From this city one can judge better than from any other place, because, here we get the reports from all over the country, as to how the organization is growing. There is one hopeful sign in the growth of the I. W. W. that to the writer's mind has not been seen in any other labor organization, the way it grows. Since the convention adjourned last July it has been growing all over the country, but in some places it grew faster than in others. For instance, first, the greatest work done was carried on out West. Later, it was evidenced in and around New York City, traveling to Pennsylvania, thence to Ohio, where it is just now fought hardest.

The I. W. W. headquarters is so overwhelmed with work that they have to hire another stenographer, making a total of four. The demand for speakers and organizers is so great that it was decided to put out Mrs. Lillian Forberg as permanent organizer for the I. W. W. in this city.

The Ninth Ward branch of the Socialist party engaged William Trautmann to speak on Industrial Unionism. The writer has been asked to speak at S. P. headquarters, the 16th of next month, on the I. W. W. and may accept if time permits.

The Cigarmakers' Local Union 154 had an entertainment Friday night, the 9th, and we had the hall jammed. Chas. O. Sherman, General President of the I. W. W., spoke for about an hour, the crowd appreciating his talk very much.

After Sherman's speech we had a raffle on the following prizes: four Sue books; one "Woman," by Bebel; "The Social Revolution," by Karl Kautsky; a year's subscription to the Weekly People, and one year's subscription to "The Industrial Worker."

The I. W. W. headquarters have the

constitution in the Jewish language and can supply as many as you want.

The political field here is all in a hub-bub. The Socialist party which is supposed to carry on an agitation for Socialism is controlled by the Municipal Ownership crowd, headed by T. J. Morgan, and is doing nothing but playing capitalist pouties, hunting office, etc. Everything on Mother Earth is agitated but revolutionary Socialism.

Section Chicago, S. L. P., is very weak and on that account cannot be heard. But I believe that now we can commence doing some effective work. We have made a beginning. We rented Workingman's Hall, corner Twelfth and Waller streets, for Friday night, February 23rd, and engaged speakers. The meetings that are to be held will be for the sole purpose of propaganda.

We have ordered 500 "Der Arbeiter" per week to be distributed amongst the Jewish workers, to acquaint them with the economics of the S. L. P.

As weak as we are the rank and file of the S. P. is favorably inclined to unity between the S. P. and S. L. P. The prominent leaders of the S. P. are opposed to unity as is to be expected, but their opposition will be killed when we carry on a good agitation and organize ourselves better than we are now.

A. P.
Chicago, Ill., Feb. 10.

ORGANIZING THE MUSICIANS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
I desire to call the attention of the many readers of the Weekly People to our International Musical Union, a subdivision of the Public Service Department Industrial Workers of the World.

There is hardly a town or village without a band. All large cities have many unorganized musicians. It will take but little work to inquire amongst your friends for the addresses of local musicians. If they are interested write us. If not send their names and addresses to our headquarters, so that we may get into communication with them and possibly succeed where you failed. Send all communications to our headquarters, Room 1, 241 East 42nd street, New York, N. Y.

W. Shurtleff, Sec.
New York, Feb. 12.

AS TO THE I. W. W.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
Since reading the article by Comrade Chas. H. Corregan, entitled "What Is a Pure and Simple Labor Organization?" and what may be termed a reply by Comrade D. De Leon, I have been waiting and watching for some one to, what appears to me, make a connection. Perhaps there are others, like myself, also waiting. I will, therefore, do the best I can in presenting my convictions upon this matter.

Without quoting Corregan, I will quote that De Leon states the position taken by Corregan is false. Leaving off the closing paragraph of De Leon's reply, the same can be said of the position taken by him. Now, I deny that either position is false, but affirm that the position of both must be embraced, for the revolutionary movement to be taken out bodily, as De Leon puts it, of pure and simpledom. The economic may declare non-political affiliation, and the political vice versa, but all the preamble declarations don't make it so. It is IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE. All the representatives of the I. W. W. and the press supporting it declare it (the I. W. W.) to be a revolutionary organization; and this declaration, to my understanding, means political affiliation.

This declaration means Socialism and Socialism, as applied to the present, means a movement, the purpose of which is to overthrow capitalism, and establish a Co-operative Commonwealth, or industrial management, which is Socialism in fact.

This having been accomplished, both the economic and the political having worked hand in hand, having fulfilled their mission, take on an entirely different purpose.

All revolutionists agree that both economic and political action is necessary, that it takes both to accomplish the desired purpose. Then why not be consistent and not appear to be trying to separate them, FOR THEY ARE AFFILIATED. Comrade Debs strikes the key when he says, one all embracing economic organization, and one all embracing political party (organization) two hearts that beat as one soul.

Comrade De Leon says the political is the shadow of the economic: can the shadow be separated from the thing that casts it? We have all said that the working class can't be educated behind their back, so let us come to the front with this; it is in the bosom of every revolutionist: out with it. The present position is a dangerous one, a tactical position: "Get them in, then educate, the political will come, all right."

But the members of pure and simpledom are coming to us, bringing with them the old methods and persisting in practicing the same. It is said they will quit this in time. Now this has been the position of the Socialist party. How

have they succeeded? They have made hundreds of Socialists, that is, Socialists have developed while affiliated with the S. P., but what about their organization, and would they have developed had the S. L. P. not been in existence? The S. L. P. has embraced the I. W. W., and in the front ranks will be found almost every member fighting for its progress along the lines of non-political affiliation, when in their bosom they are smothering something. The pure and simpler continues to flow in. When will the halt be called? When will the advanced element act decisively? Will they be able? I feel that if they don't act soon they won't, not without a re-organization of the entire revolutionary forces.

We, of the S. T. & L. A., have the experience of the mistakes of pure and simple tactics used by the S. T. & L. A., though it declared for both political affiliation and economic control, the complete overthrow of capitalism. Must we go through this again?

I agree with De Leon, where he refers to the convention in speaking of the surrounding conditions at the time of the convention and the averting a smash up, believing that the advanced element did the very best they could in launching the I. W. W. But it is now time to take that position that they refrained from taking in the convention and thus prevent another smash up; or, in other words, prevent a re-organization of the revolutionary forces. It is now time to not only declare in the language of Debs, "The A. F. of L. (pure and simpledom), and capitalism, or the I. W. W. and Socialism," but act it constitutionally.

Now, I am earnest and sincere in giving my convictions and with Debs I say the rounding up MUST be at the next convention.

Wm. W. Cox.
St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 9.

THE MAN WITH THE LITTLE RED BAG.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—
Section Cleveland boasts a member who, to my mind, is one of the most active workers in the Cause. This comrade carries with him to every section meeting, to the union meetings, and I might say to every place he goes, a little red leather bag filled with publications of the Labor News Company, which he sells to interested purchasers.

A copy of the "Pilgrim's Shell," Bebel's "Woman," a selected lot of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., are the contents of the little red bag, which is refilled when one assortment is sold out.

If every member of every section would follow this plan, how the sales would be increased! Why not try it, comrades? Many of the really active members do; why not be an ACTIVE member?

There seems to be an idea prevalent that one literary agent is all that's necessary in a city of 350,000. It is impossible for The People to attain anything like the circulation it should with but one man pushing it. The cities should be divided into sections, or one member for each political division should be appointed a sub-agent.

This sub-agent should, in his spare time, thoroughly canvass the home of every worker and try to secure at least a six months' subscription to the Weekly. It's only a matter of getting a man to spend a quarter. He'd "blow" that on the "drinks," or in many unnecessary ways.

If a man is out of work go to the man that's working. Make it your business to get at least five "subs" a week, more if you can. It's an easy canvas, and even though you may not get a "sub" you'll get in some propaganda work. Let the people know we're alive.

Get busy, comrades. If it's to be a Party Press, the Party members must hustle.

Yours for the revolution.
Eugene Creed.

E. Cleveland, O., February 7.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

To this fund, designed to keep in the field S. L. P. organizers, the following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, February 17:

John M. Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y. \$1.00
Section Canton, O., per Veal..... 2.50
Washington, D. C., Ludwig Struck,
\$1; Fred Herz, \$1; M. R. George,
\$1; B. Pollet, \$1; H. Mueller, \$1;
Jttig, 30 cents..... 5.50
John F. Gresale, Hamilton, O..... 2.00

Total..... \$ 11.00
Previously acknowledged..... 2,311.37

Grand total..... \$2,322.37
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

"KLEENO"

to clean your hands with, made for
Machinists, Printers, Railroad men,
Blacksmiths, Hardware men, Miners,
Engineers, Shoemakers, Plumbers,
Metal Workers, Housewives, Servant
Girls, Etc. Better than soap, cheaper
than soap. Send for sample 10 cents,
Postage 4 cents, Agents Wanted.
IDEAL SUPPLY CO.

537 Centre avenue, Chicago, Ill.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BOXA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. L. BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—The Socialist Labor Party believes in democratic organization. It believes in that, not as a sentiment, but out of the conviction, first, that, without organization, nothing practical can be accomplished; secondly, that without democratic rule, despotism with its train of corruption is inevitable.

H. S. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Technically, as defined by the law, a "tenement house" is one in which several families, we think more than three, do their cooking. Under this definition the palatial flats that skirt the south and west of Central Park are "tenement houses." The term is used by the law for the express purpose of concealing the iniquities of landlords of what is popularly known as "tenement houses," that is, buildings in which workingmen's families are herded under conditions of space that render the decencies of privacy impossible, and that exclude ventilation without creating a draft.

M. B. HANCOCK, MICH.—Too early, as yet, for an opinion. The facts are only now coming in on the threatened miners' strike. This much only it is now safe to say. Deprived of Mark Hanna's counsel and guidance, John Mitchell is like a chicken without a head.

T. L. BALTIMORE, MD.—Quit that twaddle about "votes." Votes are rattles to entertain children, unless the votes have, back of them, an organization to enforce their fiat. At this stage of the game, votes must not be counted, they must be weighed. The weight of the Socialist vote, to-day, is in exact measure to its effectiveness in building up the only organization capable of enforcing the fiat of the Socialist vote.

Such organization is the class-conscious Industrially organized Working Class. Neither the S. L. P. nor the S. P. vote has as yet such necessary economic organization to back it up. There is none such as yet powerfully enough in existence. The S. L. P. vote and political agitation tends to build up such economic body; the S. P. vote and political agitation does not. Weighed in the scales, one S. L. P. vote outweighs 1,000 S. P. votes.

F. P. MERRITT, OKLA.—In the homely language of Lincoln, "it is a losing game to try to shovel fleas across a barnyard." Unorganized men are no better than fleas.

V. F. HVARF, SWEDEN, First—A naturalized American citizen does not forfeit his citizenship by mere absence from the country, however long the absence. He forfeits his citizenship only in case that, during his absence, he indulges in such acts as would indicate that he has adopted another citizenship.

Second—Shall look out for the second and shorter article. More later.

L. M. G. HAMILTON, CANADA—First—The paper now comes in regularly among the exchanges.

Second—Both lack of funds and lack of cartoons are responsible for cartoons not being more frequent in The People. Then also its space is far short of what the large number of articles demand.

For detailed information, and if practical suggestions are in your mind, communicate with Business Manager.

Third—With hardly any exception the Kerr & Co. publications are of no practical value to the Movement.

For other matters, communicate with Labor News.

A. R. ST. HILAIRE, MINN.—The Volkszeitung Corporation is an incorporated body for "the publication of papers and literature." It publishes two papers, a German daily, the "Volkszeitung," and an English weekly, the "Worker." Only people who speak German are admitted to membership. The stock costs \$5. Although it levies large sums from Gompers Unions in the shape of donations, etc., it publishes no other literature than the two papers mentioned above. It needs the cash for other purposes which do not appear in its reports. The circulation of the "Volkszeitung" once exceeded 20,000; to-day it is below 4,000 and may not reach 3,000. It is substantially repudiated by the German workingmen readers, as the decline of its circulation indicates. As to the "Worker" it is essentially a barker for the Corporation—and, of course, for the Gompers Unions.

J. M. B. NEW YORK—If you can keep cool enough to listen, kindly consider this sequence of reasoning: Can you imagine in your S. P. local any members of the I. W. W. Capmakers' Union? Of course not! Why not? Are they not good, honorable, militant workingmen and Socialists? Certainly, they are. Why, then, could they not be in your local party organization? Because your beautifully privately owned party press—"Volkszeitung," "Worker," and "Vorwaerts"—will not allow you. They would raise an outcry against it. And

why would they? Because the grafters and fakirs who run the Gompers Capmakers' Union, and against whose misdeeds the now I. W. W. capmakers have rebelled, would withdraw their subsidies from those papers, destroying the latter's fat salaries, sine-cures, "peesiness," etc. Yop can't conceive such a thing as I. W. W. and Gompers' capmakers side by side in your party. The I. W. W. men would not be admitted or, if inside, would be fired as "traitors." The long and short of it is:

First—Your Volkszeitung party is the tail to the Gompers kite, its watch-dog, gouser, rounder and policeman;

Second—As there can be no harmony between the capitalist and the workingman, neither can there be harmony between the Gompers crew and the I. W. W.; consequently, there can be no unity in a party that should attempt to straddle the two horses.

Read; observe; think; digest;—and act.

W. M. NEW YORK—Well may you wonder. The Clootz, referred to in last week's Letter-Box, was no Anarchist. His appearing as "The Anarchist Clootz" was but a compositor's witicism, we suppose. Clootz's first name was Anarcharis. This is the word which the compositor transmuted into "Anarchist."

M. P. CHICAGO, ILL.—Did you ever attempt to chase the back of a porcupine? Can you imagine what would happen if you tried?—Well, "boring from within" a Civic-Federated A. F. of L. fakir's convention is of that nature, and is accompanied with similar experience.

J. T. NEWARK, N. J.—Whether anybody has ever scabbed it on the "Volkszeitung?" Why, the whole editorial and office force is a scab concern.

J. W. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—What the brilliant Editor of the "Coast Seamen's Journal" would want is for The People not to be published at all. We can't blame him. There not being as yet an I. W. W. mechanical force available on The People, the paper does not yet carry the universal label of the I. W. W. The alternative being—either "I. W. W. label and no People," or "yes People and no label," the S. L. P., in the perverseness of its disposition to do nothing that squares with the wishes of the Editor of the "Coast Seamen's Journal," has elected to issue The People without the I. W. W. label, rather than accommodate the Editor of the "Coast Seamen's Journal" and sport the I. W. W. label without The People.

J. L. F. IMPERIAL, CAL.—First—Teachers and professional men come under the category of renderers of personal service in society, a very important category. They are not wealth producers.

Second—Shall hunt up the matter. If we forget it, call again.

Third—The attitude of the S. L. P. towards "leaders in the progressive labor movement" is respectful, sympathetic or hostile according to their conduct and the nature of the progressiveness of the movement that they lead.

A. L. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The matter is welcome, very much so. Its great length may, however, cause some delay in the publication.

W. A. S. PADDINGTON, SYDNEY, N. S. W.—First—In America, laws against Asiatics should rather be called "laws to scuttle the Labor Movement." They are intended to offer a sop, seemingly attainable, in exchange for radical action on the part of the Working Class.

Second—The S. L. P. membership decreased after the split of 1899 and kept on decreasing until 1903. Since then it has steadily been picking up, until now it is larger than in 1900.

Third—Seeing that the S. L. P. has been steadily increasing in membership since 1903, it is natural that the launching of the I. W. W. should have promoted the increase of S. L. P. men.

Fourth—Money sent to the Labor News in advance of a publication will be refunded if the work is not published.

H. E. NEW YORK—Shall endeavor to obtain the wording of the resolution.

W. I. J. COLUMBUS, O.—There is no exaggeration in the statement that "wherever five labor leaders are found six will be fakirs." Marx has brilliantly proved that the co-operative labor of five men produces more wealth than the aggregate wealth produced by five individuals working separately. And he explains why. Co-operative labor frees man from the shackles of his individualism and develops the capabilities of his species. Just so with the labors of "labor leaders." The co-operative efforts of five of them develops the capabilities of their species and results in the labor-fakirism of six.

S. O. EVANSVILLE, IND.—The Gordian Knot would still be there had

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New
Reade street, New York.
S. L. P. OF CANADA.
National Secretary, 361 Richmond st.,
London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
2-6 New Reade street, New York City
(The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no party
announcements can go in that are not
in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE

The regular meeting of the above
committee was held at 2-6 New Reade
street, on Friday, February 16, with A.
Moren in the chair. The Recording
Secretary being absent, T. Walsh was
elected as such pro tem. Present were
Eck, Schwenck, Heyman, Moren, Jacob-
son, Anderson, Walsh, Olson and Craw-
ford. Absent with excuse, Wolf and
Teichlauf; without excuse, Katz, Cod-
rington and Schmidt. The financial re-
port for the two weeks ending with
February 10 showed receipts \$786.15; ex-
penditures, \$1,023.04.

The committee on Party Press reported
progress. So did the committee on
Milwaukee Hungarian matter, with the
plea that they had been unable to find
time to complete the report. It was
decided that the latter committee had ample
time to render a report. It was decided
to demand that such report be submitted
at the next meeting without fail.

Communications: From Section Cin-
cinnati, Ohio, bearing upon local organ-
ization matters. From C. Huysmans,
Brussels, Belgium, acknowledging re-
ceipt of two remittances on \$200 each for
the Russian Fund. From Section Peoria,
Ill., reporting election of officers and an-
nouncing intention to form a German
Branch in the near future. From Ala-
ameda County, Cal., Indianapolis, Ind.,
Monroe County, N. Y., Baltimore, Md.,
Worcester, Mass., Louisville, Ky., report-
ing election of officers and other local
Party matters. From organizers Veal
and Gilhaus, located in Ohio and
Virginia, respectively, reporting upon
work done and work ahead, as well as
depicting conditions encountered by
them. From Section Humboldt County,
Cal., reporting expulsion of O. P. Whit-
ney for aiding in the formation of an
economic organization hostile to S. L. P.
principles. From Section Boston, Mass.,
received from the position taken in the
matter of the Lombard affair. From
Section Milwaukee, Wis., inquiring about
progress of the investigation of the Hun-
garian matter; also pointing out pros-
pects for local progress. From Section
Minneapolis, Minn., reporting that a
number of former members of the S. P.
have joined the Section and that more
are coming. From Secretary of San An-
tonio, Tex., "Red Sunday" demonstration
with remittance for Russian fund and
explanation that the money had inad-
vertently been sent to J. Mahlon Barnes
of the S. P. and recalled.

The California S. E. C. sent a letter
bearing upon the matter of the agitation
circuit that is to be formed on the Pa-
cific coast; also dealing further with the
"Red Sunday" demonstration held at
Los Angeles. From Paterson, N. J., a
letter dealing with the matter of unity
discussions held there under the aus-
pices of an independent ward club. From
Rockville, Conn., sending report of gen-
eral vote and reporting that the Section
is getting in friendly touch with the
local S. P. organization. The Michigan
S. E. C. as well as the Minnesota S. E. C.
and also the Colorado S. E. C. inquired
about organizers to cover their respec-
tive territories during the coming sum-
mer. The editor of the Socialistische
Arbeiter Zeitung sent word that suit had
been brought against him by two na-
tional officers of the Brewery Workers'
Union, Priesterbach and Kemper, for
libel alleged to have been committed in
articles dealing with the corruption in
the union. The Wisconsin S. E. C. re-
ported that Frank R. Wilke had been
elected member of the N. E. C. for that
State. The auditing committee rendered
financial statement on condition of
Party Press which was ordered printed
for distribution as soon as possible.

The National Secretary reported to
have canvassed the general vote on
amending the Party constitution the day
after the closing of said vote and found
that not less than 40 Sections had failed
to report their vote. In view of the im-
portance of having as full a vote as
possible, it was decided to postpone the
close of the vote for thirty days and to
call upon all delinquent Sections to re-
port the same without delay.

Timothy Walsh, Rec. Sec., pro tem.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Meeting held Sunday, February 11th,
at Gantshorn's Hall, Jersey City. All
members present. Fallath chairman.

Communications: From Hoboken,
Paterson, Newark, Correspondence Bu-
reau and J. Magnette.

Section Passaic County reports ar-
rangements all made for the State Con-

vention, which is to be held in Paterson,
February 22nd, in Helvetia Hall, 56 Van
Houten street. It will be called to or-
der at 10 a. m.

Sections that have not yet reported
election of delegates to S. E. C. should do
so at once.

Section Union County will hold Com-
mune celebration in connection with
Hungarian Federation.

Financial secretary reported 75 stamps
sold since last meeting and \$8.75 received
on State Organizer fund lists.

Secretary instructed to send out Mag-
nette's appeal to a general vote of the
Party membership in the State. After
considering S. E. C. report to the con-
vention, meeting adjourned.

Secretary.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting of Michigan State
Committee took place in Room 10, Ave-
nue Theatre Building, Detroit, on Feb-
ruary 8. Minutes of last meeting read
and approved.

Vacancies caused by removal of L.
Goldberg, and election of H. Richter,
as member of National Executive Com-
mittee were filled by Section Detroit.
Credentials for A. Ahlers and Wm.
Sloag, newly elected, were received and
members seated. On motion, H. Richter
was elected acting secretary for State
Committee.

Correspondence: Secretary reported
receipt of a copy of new primary elec-
tion law from Secretary of State. Same
was received and filed. Secretary in-
structed to give synopsis of law in pub-
lished report. From Wm. E. Clement,
forward dues for December and January,
and gives general information. Re-
ceived and filed. From Section Kalamazoo,
report of election of officers and list
of members. Received and filed. From
Section Detroit purchasing thirty due
stamps, and forwarding list of officers
elected.

On motion the vote on amendment to
constitution was closed and voted can-
vassed; Secretary to forward same to
National Secretary Henry Kuhn.

The agitation throughout the State
was taken up and considered in all its
bearings. The Secretary was instructed
to secure list of subscribers to Weekly
People, and bring them in connection
with the organization; also to write to
National Secretary Henry Kuhn to se-
cure, if possible, a National Organizer
for the State of Michigan, as soon as
the warm weather sets in. In order to
raise the necessary funds, the Secre-
tary was instructed to issue an appeal
to members and sympathizers of the
party, and send out subscription list
where desired.

On motion a warrant was drawn for
\$7.00 to purchase 100 due stamps.

Finances on hand, \$33.24; received
for dues, \$3.84; total, \$37.08; expendi-
tures, \$7.00; balance, \$30.08.

Forward all communications and
donations to H. Richter, Hamtramck,
Mich.

The new primary election law for the
State of Michigan is optional with each
political party.

Twenty per cent. of the voters of each
party at preceding State election, must
petition the city or county clerk, or
Secretary of State to submit it to the
voters. If a majority decides in favor,
the law becomes operative, not other-
wise.

The voters must enroll themselves by
giving their name, address, nativity,
color and party affiliation. Only voter
so enrolled can vote at primary.

Ballot for each party must have a dif-
ferent color.

The law does not apply to the counties
of Alpena, Kent, Muskegon and Wayne.
The members of the Socialist Labor
Party throughout the State should go
ahead with the nomination of candidates
as before, by mass convention, etc., etc.,
and certify to proper election commis-
sion as before, in each county or election
district.

H. Richter.

FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR

The undersigned is pleased to an-
nounce that some very fine presents have
already been received for the next Baz-
aar and Fair to be held at Grand Cen-
tral Palace on Sunday, March 18th. They
are as follows:

A. Orange, city, handsome silver-
handled paper cutter and fine gold pen;
Hundeknochen, city, beautiful embroid-
ered sofa pillow; Socialist, handsome la-
dies' silk muffler, two fine handkerchief
bags, half dozen pieces of fine china-
ware and necklace; K. O. Brooklyn, N.
Y., three fine ties, mantle ornament
and fine burnt wood picture frame.

L. Abelson, Organizer.

BRIDGEPORT, ATTENTION!

Section Bridgeport, S. L. P. in con-
junction with the other revolutionary
organizations of Bridgeport, will hold an
entertainment (Concert and Dance) on
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, at 174
Fairfield ave., for the benefit of the Rus-
sian revolutionists.

Readers of The People are cordially
invited to be present and bring their
friends. Admission 10 cents.

A. F. OF L. TURNS TAIL

FLYNN FAILS TO MEET I. W. W. IN
DEBATE AT PITTSBURG.

(Special Correspondence.)

Pittsburg, Feb. 19.—The Pittsburg dis-
trict received a visit from the national
officers of the I. W. W., who came to
carry out our end of the debate with
National Organizer Thos. Flynn; of the
A. F. of L. But Flynn and the Gompers
outfit failed to put in an appearance, de-
spite the fact that the conditions of the
debate were in their favor. We spent
\$55.00 putting out 5,300 pieces of adver-
tising matter, little and big; and held
three mass meetings. Two were sparsely
attended, but the one set aside for the
debate was the most enthusiastic meet-
ing by far ever held in Pittsburg, in
point of attendance and in the manifesta-
tions of the audience. The signs of the
times were plainly portrayed in the di-
versified elements that were harmonized on
this occasion. Barriers were literally
torn down, that kept men divided here-
tofore. Peace was proclaimed by war-
ring factions in the labor movement, and
with one accord moved the great mass
to wild enthusiasm for the coming Labor
Union. Cheer after cheer told Labor's
enemies what is in store for labor fakirs
like Flynn and his ilk.

But it could not be otherwise with
such men as Chas. O. Sherman, General
President of the I. W. W.; as champions
of Labor's cause. He from the first
moment had his audience well in hand;
and with logic of the most forceful kind,
aye, with pathos and emotion, he fired
his audience to enthusiasm. The palm
was easily wrested from the idol of
many.

But that was not all. The climax
was capped when that old human en-
cyclopaedia, Wm. E. Trautmann, General
Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W.,
was introduced. He came with his mas-
terful arraignment of the A. F. of L.—
and proved from document after docu-
ment from the president of the so-called
A. F. of L.—that it is not a labor but
a capitalistic affair; and brought one
proof after another, until the vast audi-
ence worked themselves into such a state
of enthusiasm that voices were heard
denouncing the foes of the I. W. W.
Trautmann's evidence was a virtual
avalanche that carried before it all op-
position, and cries of approval came like
thunder from all parts of the large hall.

All in all, we are glad that those
brothers were here; and are sure that
they have left in the minds of many a
lasting impression of gratitude, and also
removed that one-man notion that seem-
ed to take hold of some, to wit, that
leaders are hard to be found. In talking
with Sherman, one of the comrades told
me that Sherman said to him: "Brother,
there are men that none of us know, as
yet, that will, in the near future come
into our movement, that will put any-
thing before the public into the shade.
Men will arise and take up this fight
with those rare qualities that combine
thinkers like De Leon, and fire-eaters
like Patrick Henry." "Brothers," con-
tinued Sherman, "men with those rare
qualities are not all dead; and we, in
our humble way, should do our best to
bring them into our ranks. We need
them and they need us. The working
class must evolve the men of genius in
our fold, and use them." Such little
talks as the above have endeared both
Sherman and Trautmann to our boys on
both sides of the house. We mean by
both sides, the S. L. P. and S. P. All
one can hear now is, "WE MUST
UNITE!" Long live the I. W. W. and
its able exponents, Trautmann and Sher-
man, and we hope soon to see them here
again.

Now, boys, let us gird on our armor
and go forth to battle. Down the foes
of our class! Build up the I. W. W.!
Impart economic thought to our fellow
men, and instill the class struggle in the
mind of the toiler and all will be well.
E. R. M.

THE SEIDENBERG SPECTRE.

(Continued from page 1.)

prentice regulations, "constitutional" pit-
falls, "examinations," etc., etc.—craft
Unionism bars the bulk of the working
class from or forces them out of the
Union. This is a fact of prime impor-
tance. Not until it is known and fully
grasped can the Labor Movement pro-
gress. The Perkins false pretense, fully
plucked and exposed, supplements the
discovery made by the S. T. & L. A.
at Seidenberg's. That discovery is that
ALL ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE
THE UNORGANIZED CAN NOT
CHOOSE BUT BE IMMEDIATELY RE-
SENTED BY CRAFT UNIONISM AS AN
ATTACK UPON ITS OWN VITALS.

No organization of the unorganized is,
accordingly, imaginable that will not
forthwith draw upon itself all the fires
of craft Unionism. This ugly fact was
uncovered at Seidenberg's. The conclu-
sion that the fact pointed its index finger
at is that CRAFT UNIONISM IS A
CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE WORK-

ING CLASS. The S. T. & L. A. was in
the dark upon this fact when that body
was launched. It uncovered the ulcer un-
knowingly, as Columbus discovered Amer-
ica unknowingly. In uncovering, having
been wholly unprepared, the S. T. & L. A.
was ripped up. But the knowledge
it had acquired became public property.
That knowledge rose like a spectre—the
SEIDENBERG SPECTER—over the head
of craft Unionism, dogged and pursued
it, and is now pursuing it to its destruc-
tion. The knowledge thus gained fructi-
fied the roots of the lusty tree that has
grown into the I. W. W. How infinitely
fuller the information is with which the
I. W. W. was equipped, when it was
launched in 1905, than was the informa-
tion upon this head with which the
Movement was equipped in 1896, when
the S. T. & L. A. was launched, may be
judged from the utter failure that has
accompanied the recent yell of "Seabi!"
raised by the Gompers capmaker fakirs
against the unorganized capmakers whom
the I. W. W. organized—almost an exact
repetition of the Seidenberg cry of
"Seabi!" Well did Eugene V. Debs, refer-
ring to this very cry that "has gone
up in New York" against the I. W. W.,
sum up the situation by characterizing
as a "grafter, who sees his booty van-
ishing" the individual whose peculiar pro-
cess of reasoning quickly converts into
a scab every worker who has made the
experience that the leaders of these craft
Unions have betrayed the working class,
and "in collusion with their bosses, have
a mortgage on their [the rank and file's]
bodies and souls".

It is no accident that the Volkszeitung
Corporation has reverted, of all affairs,
to "the Seidenberg Affair". It is a well
known fact, taught by criminology—Ed-
gar Allen Poe calls it and illustrates it
thrillingly as "The Imp of the Perverse"
—that malefactors are driven by a mor-
bid inclination to haunt the localities
of their crimes, whereby they frequently
give opportunity for their capture. The
"Seidenberg Affair" records one of the
darkest deeds of felony against the Amer-
ican Labor Movement perpetrated by the
Volkszeitung Corporation in pursuit of
its own petty and nasty private inter-
ests. Yet inscrutable are the ways of
Providence. It needed just such an act
of felony to teach the militant Social-
ists of the land that to organize the
unorganized is "seaberry" to craft Uni-
onism. It likewise needed just such an
"Imp of the Perverse" to lead the Volks-
zeitung Corporation back to the "Af-
fair", so as to give opportunity for the
capture of the felon and thereby thor-
oughly ventilate the issue.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

For the week ending February 16th,
177 subscriptions received for the
Weekly People, and 13 mail subscrip-
tions for the Daily. The roll of honor
this week for five or more by one person
is: The Socialist Edinburgh, Scotland,
12; F. Brown, Cleveland, O., 8; A. Lou-
wet, Kalamazoo, Mich., 7; N. Dufner,
Lynden, Wash., 6; D. Rubovitz, Newark,
N. J., 7; 34th A. D., New York, 6.

Prepaid post cards sold: A. E. Safford,
Oldtown, Me., \$10; F. Bohmbach, Boston,
Mass., \$5; G. A. Jennings, E. St. Louis,
Ill., \$5; C. A. Ruby, Rochester, N. Y.,
\$4.25; J. S. Weinberger, Schenectady,
N. Y., \$1.50.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The I. W. W. Convention proceedings,
in cloth, having come in, takes up our
attention in filling orders so that we can
only say a few words here. Leaflets
sent out during the past week: Section
Allegheny County, Pa., 8,000; Section
Portland, Ore., 3,000; C. Gallo, Globe,
Ariz., 2,000.

Pamphlet orders: I. W. W. Local 173,
San Francisco, Cal., \$10.50; I. W. W.
Local 123, Milwaukee, Wis., \$3; Section
Baltimore, Md., \$4.50 Section Allegheny
County, Pa., \$5.25; E. Jansan, Chicago,
Ill., \$1.25; R. Clausen, Somers, Mont.,
\$1.25.

Books: T. Welding, Portsmouth, Va.,
4 Sne books and Woman; E. Paul, Van-
couver, B. C., 3 Sue; J. Billow, Chicago,
Ill., 2 Paris Commune by Lisagary.
The Address on Industrial Unionism
which E. V. Debs delivered at Grand
Central Palace is now ready in pamphlet
form. Five cents a copy, three dollars
and fifty cents per 100 copies.

OF INTEREST TO CHICAGO.

The Revolutionary Socialist Educa-
tional Club will hold a meeting in
Trades and Labor Union Hall, 44-46 La
Salle street, third floor, Sunday, March
4, 3 p. m. Open meeting and discussion.
Subject to be announced in daily papers.

H. LIPSCHITZ, ATTENTION.

You are hereby ordered to appear at a
session of the Grievance Committee of
Section New York County of the S. L. P.,
to be held Wednesday evening, Feb-
ruary 21, at 8 p. m., to answer charges.
By order of Grievance Committee of
Section New York County of the S. L. P.
Secretary.

The People is a good broom to brush
the cobwebs from the minds of the
workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

CALL FOR REFERENDUM

On the Time of Holding the Next Annual
Convention of the I. W. W.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 7.—To the Depart-
ment—Organizations, Local Unions and
Members of the Industrial Workers of
the World, Fellow Workers: The consti-
tution of the Industrial Workers of
the World provides for the holding of a
convention on the first Monday in May.
The General Executive Board was au-
thorized to select the locality for the
convention.

At the semi-annual meeting of the
General Executive Board of the I. W. W.
this matter was considered. Acting upon
the request of the Western Federation
of Miners, the Mining Department of the
I. W. W., the General Executive Board
deemed it advisable to recommend the
postponement of the convention to June
27th, subject to a referendum vote of the
entire membership of the I. W. W. The
request of the Western Federation of
Miners was based on the following rea-
sons:

Shortly before the first convention of
the I. W. W. the Western Federation of
Miners held a convention, at which dele-
gates were elected to the convention in
Chicago last year. The delegation in-
stalled the membership of the W. F. of
M. as a working part of the I. W. W. and
their action was ratified by a referen-
dum vote. This would have necessitated
a change in the constitution of the W.
F. of M., but such can be done only at a
convention. This convention would take
place after the date set for the conven-
tion of the I. W. W., should the same be
held as provided for in the I. W. W.
constitution. The Western Federation of
Miners would have no convention be-
tween the two held by the Industrial
Workers of the World. The delegates
of the Mining Department of the I. W. W.
would have no authority to make any
proposition at the convention, not know-
ing whether or not the following conven-
tion of the Mining Department would
fully endorse any action of their dele-
gates. The convoking of a convention of
that department prior to that of the
I. W. W. is out of the question. Other
reasons also prompted the Executive
Board officers to recommend this request
favorably to the membership.

Acting under the authority placed into
the hands of the General Executive
Board, a referendum is hereby called, on
the recommendation of the General Ex-
ecutive Board, on the following question:
"Shall the convention of the I. W. W.
be postponed and held on June 27th,
1906?"

The ballot to be cast to be either
"yes" or "no." In absence of any rules
governing elections and referendum
votes, the following rules should govern
this referendum vote:

Each department will institute a refer-
endum among its membership, the same
to be governed by the laws of that de-
partment. The general officers of the de-
partment will give the result of the vote
to the General President or the General
Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. not
later than March 15th.

The unions directly chartered from the
general administration will be guided in
the referendum as follows:

Each union must elect a committee on
election at its next meeting. Such com-
mittee to prepare ballots and announce
the question to be voted on.

A special date to be set for the voting;
ballots to be secret; every voter must
write his own ballot, "yes" or "no."

Immediately after the polls are closed,
the union previously designating the
time and place, the election committee
shall proceed with the counting of the
ballots and ascertain the result. The
election committee will then fill out the
enclosed report blank, have it verified by
the president and the secretary of the
union, with seal attached, that the elec-
tion was executed legally and in compli-
ance with these rules. These report
blanks must be forwarded immediately
to general headquarters; not later than
March 15th, the postal stamp date on
letter of March 15th serving as guidance
for the canvassing committee at general
headquarters.

Standing vote in meetings will not be
considered a referendum and statements
from union officers that a unanimous
vote "for" or "against" the proposition
has been cast will not be recognized.

Members at large will send in their
vote in sealed envelope marked "ballot,"
so as to avoid opening the same before
the official count takes place.

Every member should vote and a gen-
eral discussion should precede at a meet-
ing prior to the voting.

Provisions should be made that night
workers can also cast their ballot.

Chas. O. Sherman,
General President.
W. E. Trautmann,
General Secretary-Treas.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

—By EUGENE V. DEBS.—

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, DE-
CEMBER 10, 1905.

"The Industrial Workers is organized, not to conciliate, but to fight the cap-
italist class. We have no object in concealing any part of our mission; we
would have it perfectly understood. We deny that there is anything in common
between workingmen and capitalists. We insist that workingmen must organize
to get rid of capitalists and make themselves the masters of the tools with
which they work, freely employ themselves, secure to themselves all they pro-
duce, and enjoy to the full the fruit of their labors."

Price 5 cents per copy.

350 per 100.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO. 2, 4 AND 6 NEW READE STREET, N. Y.

LETTER BOX.

(Continued from page 4.)

Alexander not cut it through with his
sword. What a tangle the Gordian Knot
of capitalist law is you may judge from
the utter impossibility of framing a rail-
road rate bill that will not somehow con-
flict with some other law or interest.
It is not "more legislation" that is
wanted but less. A complete stoppage of
legislation. The abolition of the po-
litical or legislating government is the
only cure, and its substitution with the
administrative government. No laws
needed there. Administrative law is statis-
tics.

S. W., HOBOKEN, N. J.—"Pikantes
wollt ihr, pikant sein werd' ich," sagte
Asmodeus. Den Kampf wollten die
Herren von der Volkszeitung, Pruegel
haben sie bekommen dass die Schwarte
krachte. Und es kommt noch mehr. Nur
abwarten.

M. T., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Will
Thorne was one of those who sent con-
gratulations to John Burns when the lat-
ter got into the cabinet. What more do
you want? How's that for a Socialist?

The Will Thorne are serpents in the
grass of the Labor Movement, and, no
better than they are those alleged So-
cialist papers that cheat their readers
with booms of the Thornes. These
alleged Socialist papers once boomed
Millerand. They have been so thor-
oughly whipped out of such a false posture
that they blamed Burns in chorus and
held him up to execration. What dif-
ference is there between a Burns and a
Burns-praiser?

J. J. H., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Let the
victimized I. T. U. man write up a con-
cise and clear account of the treatment
given to him by the fakirs of his Union.
It will be published together with his
letter throwing up his card.

G. W., PATERSON, N. J.—The col-
umns of The People have been giving
detailed accounts of the row between the
Belmont-Gompers capmakers' leaders
and the I. W. W. capmakers. The facts
were well summarized by Debs when he
said that the moment rank and file men
drop the grafters of their Unions then
rank and file men become "scabs" in the
eyes of the grafters.

A. B. L., MOOSUP, CONN.—There
seems to be a fresh outbreak by the Ro-
man Catholic political machine against
Socialism. These fresh sermons and
addresses delivered against Socialism are
encouraging signs. Socialism is pushing
forward. As to the value of these ad-
dresses it is zero. It is the same old
rant that has been heard from the same
source against Copernicus, Darwin and
progress generally.

C. R., NEW YORK; R. E. W.,
NEODESHA, KANS.; J. T. W., NEW
YORK; W. J. FULTON, ILL.; J. C.
C., TURTLE CREEK, PA.; T. U.,
PASCO, WASH.; C. C. PLEASANT-
VILLE, N. Y.; I. E., DETROIT,
MICH.; J. C. B., PATERSON, N. J.;
T. W. H., ANACONDA, MONT.; C.
R., OGEN, UTAH; F. B., BOSTON,
MASS.; M. B., LOUISVILLE, KY.; T.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish
standing advertisements of Section head-
quarters, or other permanent announce-
ments. The charge will be five dollars a
year for five lines.

Kings County General Committee—
Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m.
at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop ave-
nue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—
Second and fourth Saturday in the
month, at Daily People building, 2-6
New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County
at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade
street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and
public reading room at 203 1/2 South Main
street. Public educational meetings Sun-
day evenings. People readers are invited
to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. head-
quarters and free reading room, No. 280
Jessie street. Open day and evening.
All wage workers cordially invited.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters
and public reading room corner 12th and
A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open
every evening. All workmen invited.
Business meetings every Tuesday.
Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and
third Tuesdays of each month, at 29 1/2

F. D., GLOBE, ARIZ.; F. K., JERSEY
CITY; R. R., ROCHESTER, N. Y.;
N. N., TERRE HAUTE, IND.; G. G.,
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B. E., RED WING, MINN.; F. H.,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.; A. S. D., FIN-
LAY, TEXAS; G. F. S., ST. PAUL,
MINN.; B. T., NEW YORK CITY—
Matter received.